

**Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia,  
1797-1889  
A Documentary Record**

**Annotated Translation and Commentary by  
George A. Bournoutian**

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Iona College

## Abbreviated Titles

- AKAK** *Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissiei* [Documents of the Russian Administration of the Caucasus: Proceedings of the Caucasian Archæographical Commission], 12 vols. (Tiflis, 1866-1904).
- AVOK** *Asnad-e Vezārat-e Omūr-e Kāreje* [Documents of the Foreign Ministry of Iran, Tehran].
- AVPR** *Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossii* [Archives of the Foreign Policy of Russia, Moscow].
- BAOE** *Başbakanlık Arşivi* [Archives of the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul].
- GRAM** *Gramoty i drugie istoricheskie dokumenty XVIII stoletia, otnosiashchiesia do Gruzii* [Decrees and other Historical Documents of the Eighteenth Century Relating to Georgia], Vol. II, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1902).
- HASE** *Hamarotut' iwn ants'its' kristosakert Mayr At' oroy Hayots' Surb Ėjmiatsni* [A Short Documentary Account of Holy Etchmiadzin, Mother Church of the Armenians, as recorded by Catholicos Nersēs of Ashtarak](Tiflis, 1853).
- MAAC** *Matenadaran Archives* [Erevan, Armenia].
- PSZR** *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* [Complete Collection of the Statutes of the Russian Empire] Series I-II, Moscow and St. Petersburg, 1830-1885.

- SAAN*     *Sobranie aktov' otnosiashchikhsia k' obozreniiu istorii Armianskogo naroda* [Collection of Documents dealing with the History of the Armenian People], 3 vols. (Moscow, 1833-1838).
- TSGADA*   *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov* [Central State Archives of Ancient Documents, Moscow].
- TSGA-Arm*   *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Armenii* [Central State Archives of Armenia, Erevan].
- TSGIA*     *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* [Central State Historical Archives, St. Petersburg].
- TSGIA-Gruz*   *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Gruzii* [Central State Historical Archives of Georgia, Tbilisi].
- TSGVIA*   *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Voенno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* [Central State Archives of Military History, Moscow].

## Chronology, Toponyms, Transliteration

Until February 1918, Russia employed the Julian calendar, which in the eighteenth century was eleven days, and in the nineteenth century, twelve days, behind the Gregorian calendar used in West. Except where indicated, all documents retain their original Julian dates. Persia, in this period, used the Arabic lunar calendar (354 days, beginning in A.D. 622), while Armenian Church records generally used the Armenian religious calendar, dating from A.D. 522. These have been converted (outright or in brackets) to the Gregorian calendar.

Toponyms can be a source of confusion. To conform with the majority of the documents, I have, with few exceptions, used the Russianized forms prevalent in the nineteenth century, with pre-1800 equivalents initially noted where applicable, e.g. Derbent (Darband), or Kuba (Qobbe).<sup>1</sup> Some place names completely changed after the Russian conquest, a fact which is reflected in the documents. For example, the name Ganja disappeared from most Russian documents when the city was renamed Elisavetpol' in 1804, while Gumri became Alexandropol' in 1837.<sup>2</sup> The term *Transcaucasia* (or Trans-Caucasus) is problematic. To substitute *Transaraxia* reflects a Persian perspective,<sup>3</sup> while the neutral *eastern Caucasus* excludes part of the region.<sup>4</sup> Despite the fact that *Transcaucasia* denotes a Russian bias, I have decided to retain this more commonly used term. Furthermore, for the sake of uniformity with nineteenth-century sources, the terms *Persia* and *Persian* will be used instead of *Iran* and *Iranian*. Although

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<sup>1</sup> Those place names which could not be identified have been transliterated exactly as they appear in the documents.

<sup>2</sup> See glossary of place names.

<sup>3</sup> This term has been used by J. Perry in *Karim Khan Zand* (Chicago, 1970), p. x.

<sup>4</sup> This term has been used by M. Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780-1828* (Minneapolis, 1980), p. xi.

Persia claimed suzerainty over all or parts of Transcaucasia, Russian documents, which form the bulk of this work, view Persia as lying south of the Arax (Aras) River. In addition, all documents refer to Azerbaijan solely as the northwestern province of Persia; no other Azerbaijan existed during that period. The various khanates which later formed the modern Republic of Azerbaijan are either mentioned as separate entities prior to the Russian conquest, or as the Muslim, Caspian, Shemakh, Derbent, Elisavetpol', and Baku provinces afterwards. Moreover, the province of Karabagh, in the period of this study, included the present-day region of Zangezur. Finally, I use the designation *eastern Armenia*--recorded variously as Iranian or Persian Armenia, Transcaucasian Armenia, or Russian Armenia--as encompassing the historic Armenian lands situated east of the city of Kars, west of the Kura River, south of the Khram River, and north of the Arax River up to Nakhichevan, where it continues in a straight line to include both sides of the Arax, including the towns of Mākū and Bayazid.

The Muslim inhabitants of Transcaucasia identified themselves by their religious sect or by their region. Russian documents refer to the present-day Azerbaijanis as Muslims, Tatars, or Turko-Tatars. The Armenians and Georgians called them Turks or Muslims. The various Muslim groups in the Caucasus Mountains, however, are identified by their tribal names, e.g., Chechens, Ingush, and Lesghians.

Russian, Armenian, Persian, and Turkish documents use different forms for some personal names. For example Joseph is *Iosif* in the Russian, *Hovsēp'* in the Armenian, and *Yūsef* or *Yusuf* in the Persian and Turkish manuscripts. I have tried, whenever possible, to use the native pronunciation of personal names, with the variant initially in parentheses; thus, Hovsēp', Ebrāhīm, and Hovhannēs instead of Iosif, Ibragim, and Ioanes.<sup>1</sup> With few exceptions, first names (but not the patronymic) of Russian rulers and officials are anglicized, thus Catherine and not Ekaterina, Paul and not Pavel', Alexander and not Aleksandr, Nicholas and not Nikolai. Names of Russian officials written originally in Western languages (Polish, German, French, Italian), are

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<sup>1</sup> When in doubt I have transliterated personal names exactly as they appear in the documents. The names of Armenians and others, who preferred to use their Russianized names, remain unchanged, hence Lazarev instead of Lazarean or Ghazarean (Lazarean).

(if known) spelled in their Latin form, with the Russian form given initially in parentheses, e.g., Rosen (Rozen).

Transliteration poses the biggest challenge, for no method has proved ideal for the various languages used in this study. I have used the following systems: Armenian characters, with the exception of those in the term *Etchmiadzin*, have been transliterated according to a slightly modified version of the Library of Congress system.<sup>1</sup> The same modified system is used for Russian, Arabic, and Turkish titles. The transliteration used for Persian, with minor deviations, follows that of *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Transliteration from Georgian is based on the system used by D. M. Lang in, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy* (New York, 1957). Commonly used terms and anglicized forms are retained, however (e.g., amir, aqa, agalar, bazaar, khan, khannate, melik, mullah, pasha, pashalik, sardar, sayyid, shah, sheikh, sultan, vizier, vali, vilayet, Azerbaijan, Baku, Daghestan, Erevan, Ganja, Isfahan, Karabagh, Khorasan, Nakhichevan, Shirvan, Shemakha, Tabriz, Tehran, Koran, Lesghian, Muslim, Shi'i, Sunni, Afshar, Qajar, Safavid, and Zand).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Transliteration of Armenian names can be confusing. Nineteenth-century orthography differs from twentieth century spelling reforms. In addition, there are pronunciation differences between modern Eastern and Western Armenian. The Eastern Armenian form of proper names are, for the most part, used in this study. Furthermore, different transcriptions are used for some authors' names in the various languages employed for their publications, thus Hakobian, Hakobean, Hakobyan, Hakopian, Akopian, and Hovhannēsean, Hovhannisyan, Yovhannēsian, Ioannisian, Hovannisian, and Hovhannisian.

<sup>2</sup> Certain titles and names are transliterated in two versions--depending whether the Persian or Turkish form was used in the document-- for example, beg and bek; aqa and aga; Ebrāhīm and Ibrahim; Salīm and Selim; Karīm and Kerim; Moḥammad and Mehmet, etc.

## Introduction

The Caucasus Mountains form a bridge between Europe and Asia that extends from 20 to 100 miles in width, and stretches diagonally over 650 miles between the Taman peninsula on the Black Sea, in the northwest, and the Apsheron peninsula on the Caspian Sea, in the southeast. The territory north of the mountains, called the North Caucasus (*Severnyi Kavkaz*) by the Russians, is home to the Circassians, Ossets, Chechens and some two dozen mountain tribes of Daghestan, in addition to Russians and a few German settlers.

The lands south of the mountains, referred to by the Russians as Transcaucasia (*Zakavkaz'e*),<sup>1</sup> was, until the nineteenth century, generally considered part of Persia (see map 1).<sup>2</sup> Transcaucasia is home to the Abkhaz, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Kurds, Persians, and to various Turkic groups, who, in the twentieth century, began to refer to themselves as Azerbaijanis. Christianity, Islam, and, to a lesser extent, Judaism, are all practiced in the region. Sunni Muslims and a small number of Mountain Jews predominate in the north, while Shi'is, Yezidis, and some Sunni Kurds compose most of the Muslims in the south. The Christians--Georgian Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic--live in western Transcaucasia, on land that in ancient and medieval times constituted all or parts of their historic homelands.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the 19th century, the Russians viewed Transcaucasia as the region between the Caucasus, Agri-Dagh (Haykakan Par), and Qārādāğ mountains, and the Caspian and Black seas.

<sup>2</sup> The Transcaucasian districts of Bayazid (Bayazit) and Kars, claimed by Persia since the sixteenth century, were under Ottoman control.

<sup>3</sup> The entire territory of historic Georgia is in Transcaucasia. The historic lands of eastern Armenia, or the regions east of Agri-Dagh, are located in Transcaucasia. For geographical studies of the Caucasus, see John F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* (London, 1940) and K. H. Menges, et. al., *The Caucasus* (New Haven, 1956). For ethnographic details, see M. O. Kovsen, ed., *Etnografiia i istoriia Kavkaza* (Moscow, 1951), and the two-volume study *Narody Kavkaza*, edited by B. A. Gardanov, et. al. (Moscow, 1962).



Persian is spoken by the Mountain Jews, and Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish dialects are spoken by the Muslims, while the Georgians and Armenians speak their own native tongues. Arabic script was used by the Muslims until the introduction of Soviet rule, when first the Latin and later the Cyrillic alphabets were adapted for them.<sup>1</sup> Armenians and Georgians use their own scripts, developed in the fifth century A.D.

The emergence of the Shi'i Safavid state in northwestern Persia at the start of the sixteenth century began a century-long conflict between the Safavids and the Sunni Ottomans, with Transcaucasia and Mesopotamia as the main theaters of war. The Treaty of Zohāb (1639), not only brought more than eighty years of peace, but placed much of Transcaucasia in Persian hands.<sup>2</sup> The fall of the Safavids in 1722 encouraged the Ottomans to invade Transcaucasia in 1723. Despite the fact that Nāder Shah Afshar restored Persian suzerainty over the region in 1735, he and Karīm Khan Zand failed to establish lasting dynasties, which permitted local Transcaucasian rulers, especially in eastern Georgia and Karabagh, to act independently from the late 1770s to 1795. Although by the end of the eighteenth century a new Persian dynasty, the Qajars, managed to regain most of Transcaucasia, Persian control did not last long.<sup>3</sup> The dawn of the nineteenth century marked a new era in the history of Transcaucasia--the Russian phase.

Russian contacts with Transcaucasia are recorded as far back as the tenth century. Serious interest in the region, however, started immediately after the conquest of Astrakhan in 1556. By the end of the sixteenth century a number of Cossack colonies were established along the Terek River. Encouraged by Georgian princes, whose lands were

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<sup>1</sup> As a result of the breakup of the USSR, the alphabets used by the Muslims are currently being reexamined.

<sup>2</sup> Western Georgia and the pashaliks of Kars and Bayazid remained under Ottoman control.

<sup>3</sup> A number of studies have appeared on the history of Transcaucasia in this period; among them are M. Atkin, *Russia and Persia, 1780-1828* (Minneapolis, 1980), G. A. Bournoutian, *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807-1828* (Malibu, 1982), revised as *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, 1992), and D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy: 1658-1832* (New York, 1957).

being raided by Persians and Turks, Russian tsars attempted to make inroads into the region. The Muslim tribesmen of Daghestan, however, pushed the Cossack armies back across the Terek. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the first Russian attempt to penetrate Transcaucasia had ended in failure.<sup>1</sup>

Persian suzerainty over Transcaucasia during the seventeenth century and the Russian control of the Volga River created a stable trade route between Asia and Europe that passed through the region. Since this route was less costly than the Persian Gulf route controlled by European shipping, the powerful Armenian merchants of Persia and India, who, under the protection of the Safavid shahs and Mughal emperors, had gained a number of trade monopolies, began to divert much of their trade to this corridor. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the Armenians not only dominated this trade route but had established sizable Armenian communities in Russia. Their economic influence gained them the protection of the Russian tsars and enabled them to revive an Armenian secular and religious leadership in Transcaucasia itself.

The next Russian attempt to penetrate Transcaucasia came during the reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725), when he was contacted by a number of Armenian meliks<sup>2</sup> from Karabagh who, wary of the anti-Armenian measures of the last Safavids, sought to put their region under Russian protection. Peter assured them that their faith in Russia would be rewarded. The collapse of the Safavids and the murder of a number of Russian merchants in Transcaucasia gave Peter--who had, in 1721, concluded his war with Sweden--the pretext for a Russian in-

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<sup>1</sup> Kings Alexander I and Levan of Kakhet'i began the contact by sending friendly embassies to Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible. At the end of the sixteenth century, King Alexander II of Kakhet'i formally asked Tsars Fedor and Boris Godunov to help him fight the Tarku (Targhu) chief of Daghestan. For Russo-Georgian contacts, see W. E. D. Allen, ed., *Russian Embassies to the Georgian Kings (1589-1605)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> The term is from the Arabic *malik*, which has a variety of meanings including "lord." The Armenian meliks of Transcaucasia were petty princes and scions of Armenian nobility, who had sought refuge in the mountain valleys of Karabagh, Siwnik', Zangezur, and Lori, following the Turko-Mongol invasions of eastern Armenia. Five families of meliks are better known, for they controlled the districts known as *kamse* ("five") and defended their autonomy with force of arms (see map 3).

cursion. Russian troops crossed the Terek River in 1722 and occupied the Caspian littoral.

The Ottomans, fearful of a Russian presence along their eastern border, at first protested and a year later themselves invaded Transcaucasia. Peter, who did not want to risk a war with the Turks, backed down from his promises to the Armenians of Karabagh and concluded a treaty with the Turks in 1724. Eastern Armenia (except for the mountainous districts of Karabagh, where the Armenian meliks and their followers repulsed the Turks) and eastern Georgia fell under Ottoman control, while eastern Transcaucasia remained in Russian hands. Those Armenians and Georgians who had aided the Russians had to deal with the Muslims. Some sought refuge in mountains, others fled to Russia.<sup>1</sup> Peter's death in 1725 dampened Russian interest in the region. A decade later the Persians convinced Empress Anna (1730-1740) to remove her remaining troops and to retire across the Terek. Thus, the second Russian attempt to conquer Transcaucasia also ended in failure. The Russians, however, established a fort in Kizliar (Qezlar) and a number of other military posts in the northern Caucasus, which were soon referred to as the Caucasian Line.

Three decades later, Catherine the Great (1762-1796) revived Russian interest in Transcaucasia and, in 1763, Russia established the fortress of Mozdok (Muzlik), extending the Caucasian Line to the southwest (see map 1). The defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 and the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca enhanced the strategic value of Transcaucasia. Prompted by renewed Georgian requests and encouraged by her military and diplomatic advisors, Catherine further expanded the Caucasian Line by constructing the new fortresses of Stavropol', Ekaterinograd, and Georgievsk.

Between 1774 and 1783 Russia cautiously approached Erekle II (1762-1798), King of K'art'li-Kakhet'i, which comprised eastern Georgia, as well as a number of Armenian and Muslim leaders in Transcaucasia, to gauge their cooperation in the event of renewed hostilities with the Turks or Persians. Erekle, who had enlarged his

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<sup>1</sup> The Georgian king, Wakhtang VI, and some one to three thousand Georgian nobles fled to Russia in 1723. Most ended thoroughly Russianized, became part of the Russian nobility, and joined the Russian army, where they rose to prominent positions. Prince Bagration and Prince Tsitsianov are good examples of this assimilation.

domain at the expense of his Muslim neighbors, was ready to commit himself to a formal alliance. Armenian leaders in Russia and the Armenian meliks of Karabagh were also ready to join the Russian forces. The leader of the Armenian Church and most of the Muslim khans, however, refused to make concrete promises. They did not trust one another, they lacked military strength, and, most of all, they feared the reaction of tribal chiefs in Daghestan and northern Persia, as well as the wrath of the Ottomans.

The dynastic struggles in Persia and the weakness of the Ottomans not only encouraged Russia to annex the Crimea but convinced Catherine to make a formal alliance with Erekle. The Treaty of Georgievsk, in 1783, placed eastern Georgia under Russian protection. Russia increased its presence in Transcaucasia by sending a small force to Erekle's capital, Tiflis (Tbilisi), and by establishing another fortress, Vladikavkaz (Burav) along the Caucasian Line. This chain of forts was connected by a rough road leading to the Daryal pass, the gate to Transcaucasia. By the end of the century, the road was improved and became known as the Georgian Military Road.

Confident of their strength following the Ottoman defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792 (Treaty of Jassy) and relying on Erekle to defend his land, the Russians pulled their troops out of Georgia, leaving Tiflis unprotected. In the meantime, the Persian dynastic struggle had come to an end. By 1794, Āġā Moḥammad Khan, a chieftain of the Qajar tribe, had subdued all the other pretenders to the Persian throne and vowed to restore the territory of the former Safavids. Most of the khans of the Caucasus submitted, but Erekle, relying on Russian protection, refused. Āġā Moḥammad sent a number of threatening letters to Erekle, whose frantic messages to Russia were ignored.

On 24 May 1795, Āġā Moḥammad's army sacked Tiflis, massacring, looting, and burning part of the city and taking some 15,000 Georgian and Armenian prisoners. Angered by the destruction of a Russian protectorate, Catherine ordered her army to invade Transcaucasia. A year later the Russian troops had reached the borders of Karabagh. Armenians of Karabagh, once again, joined the Russian cause. Russian military activities came to an abrupt end, however, when Catherine died in November 1796. Her son Paul (1796-1801) halted

the Russian advance and, by early 1797, ordered the withdrawal of Russian troops. The third Russian attempt to conquer Transcaucasia had, [once again], come to an abrupt end.

The fourth and final Russian attempt started almost immediately when Paul began to reassess the Russian commitment to Georgia a few months after the Russian withdrawal. By 1799 the tsar, following new Persian threats,<sup>1</sup> had sent an envoy and troops to Tiflis and had reaffirmed Russia's involvement in the region. On 18 December 1800, Paul accepted King Giorgi XII's request and incorporated eastern Georgia into Russia, maintaining its dynastic house as regents.<sup>2</sup> On August 13, 1801, however, Tsar Alexander I gave in to the pressures of some of his advisors, annexed eastern Georgia and abolished its dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander, like his grandmother, sought to extend Russian rule into Transcaucasia. The conquest took place in many stages, through both negotiations and military operations. In 1804 Russia started a war with Persia by storming and taking the khanate of Ganja. In 1805 the regions of Shuragol and Pambak, as well as the khanates of Karabagh and Sheki, accepted Russian suzerainty. The khanates of Derbent, Shirvan, Kuba, and Baku were annexed or fell into the Russian orbit in 1806. Between 1809 and 1812, P'ot'i (Poti), Abkhazia, Mingrelia, Guria, Sukhumi, and parts of Imeret'i and Akhalk'alak'i (Akhalkalak) either were conquered or voluntarily joined Russia. Thus, at the conclusion of the First Russo-Persian War (1804-1813) and the Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812), a large part of Transcaucasia had become part of the Russian Empire. Following the Second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828) and the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829, the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan, the southern part of the khanate of Talesh, as well as the region of Akhaltsikhe (Akhaltsikh) and few autonomous pockets which were left in western Georgia were annexed by Russia. Finally, at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War of

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<sup>1</sup> See document 8.

<sup>2</sup> The manifesto was made public a month later in St. Petersburg and the following year in Tiflis. The text is in *PSZR*, XXV, no. 19721.

<sup>3</sup> The manifesto was made public on 12 September 1801. The text is in *PSZR*, XXVI, no. 20007.

1877-1878, the districts of Kars and Batum became part of Russia as well (see map 2).<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, realizing the vulnerability of Transcaucasia and the Georgian Military Road, Russia concentrated on subduing the various mountain tribes of the North Caucasus and Daghestan--a process which began in earnest in the second decade of the 1800s and continued for some fifty years. Shamil's<sup>2</sup> surrender on 25 August 1859 ended the last major opposition. By the mid-1860s all the tribes of Daghestan and Chechnia, as well as those in Circassia, were either pacified or expelled and Russia became the undisputed master of the entire region.<sup>3</sup>

The subjugation of the region inspired Russian diplomats and military historians to record the details of the "heroic and glorious" Russian expansion into and the conquest of both the Caucasus and Transcaucasia. In April of 1864, therefore, Michael Nikolaevich Romanov, brother of Tsar Alexander II, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus a year earlier,<sup>4</sup> ordered the examination of the more than one hundred thousand Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Russian documents, books, and manuscripts which pertained to the conquered region and which had been preserved in various locations throughout Transcaucasia.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The pashalik of Bayazid, which was awarded to Russia by the San Stefano agreement, was returned to Turkey at the Congress of Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> Shamil was the leader of the Murid movement, which for a quarter of a century resisted the Russian takeover of the Caucasus. For details on Shamil and the Russian conquest of Daghestan and Chechnia, see M. Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar* (London, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note, however, that the mountaineers of the Caucasus were never totally subdued. Taking advantage of internal or external conflicts, they rebelled during the Polish Revolt (1863), the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), the Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917-1920), and more recently, after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

<sup>4</sup> Viceroy from 1863 to 1882. The viceroyalty was abolished in 1882 and was revived only in 1905. From 1882 until 1890 Alexander Dondukov-Korsakov was the high commissioner of the Caucasus. In 1905 Count Ilarion Voronstov-Dashkov was appointed viceroy, a post he held until 1916.

<sup>5</sup> After the annexation of Georgia in 1801, the Russians established their administrative apparatus in Tiflis. They soon formed the Archives of the Chancery, which

A commission<sup>1</sup> was established specifically to catalog, edit, and publish the most important of these documents. A young but capable editor, Adolf Petrovich Bergé (Berzhe), was put in charge of the entire project. After graduating from St. Petersburg University with a degree in Near Eastern languages, Bergé, in 1851, had joined the Caucasian administration, which was then under the viceroyalty of Prince Michael Vorontsov. He had conducted research in Persia and the Caucasus, and had written numerous articles in Caucasian journals and newspapers, as well as a number of studies on the history, geography, archeology, and languages of the region.

The first volume of the *Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissiei*, documents collected by the commission,<sup>2</sup> was published in 1866 in Tiflis. Between 1866 and 1904 a total of twelve large volumes, containing more than 15,000 documents, were published there. Prior to his death in 1886, Bergé had succeeded in editing ten of the twelve volumes.<sup>3</sup>

The *Akty* primarily contain the correspondence of the numerous Russian military and civilian officials in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia with the tsars, the central state administration in St. Petersburg, and the Russian diplomats in Persia and the Ottoman Empire, as well as with the Armenian, Georgian, and Muslim secular and religious leaders in Russia, the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>4</sup>

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housed the official correspondence of the Caucasian administration. In time, various other documents from the chanceries of eastern Georgia (K'art'li-Kakhet'i), western Georgia (Imeret'i), Ganja (Gan'je), Karabagh (Qarābāğ), Baku (Bādkūbe), Shirvan (Šīrvan), Sheki (Šakī), Kuba (Qobbe), Erevan (Erivan, Iravān), and Nakhichevan (Nakjavān) were transferred there as well. In 1845, the archives were renamed as the Archives of the Caucasian Administration and in 1859 the name was changed to the Archives of the Viceroy for the Administration of the Caucasus.

<sup>1</sup> It was called *The Caucasian Archaeographical Commission*.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviated as *AKAK*.

<sup>3</sup> Volume XI was edited by D. Kobiakov and volume XII by E. Vaidenbaum.

<sup>4</sup> Volume I [1866], concentrates on the command of Generals Gudovich and Knorring (1797-1802); volume II [1868], Prince Tsitsianov (1802-1806); volume III [1869], Count Gudovich (1806-1809); volume IV [1870], General Tormasov (1809-1811); volume V [1873], Generals Paulucci and Rtishchev (1811-1816); volume VI [1874-76, in two parts], General Ermolov (1816-1827); volume VII [1878], Count Paskevich (1827-1831); volume VIII [1881], Baron Rosen [Rozen] (1831-1837); vol-

All of the documents, including those not accessible to or published by the commission, were later housed in six archives: the Central State Historical Archives of Georgia; the Central State Archives of Armenia; the Matenadaran Archives in Armenia; and the Central State Archives of Ancient Documents, the Archives of Foreign Policy, the Central State Archives of Military History, and the Central State Historical Archives, all of which are located in Russia.

The present study focuses on only one of the ethnic groups in the Transcaucasus, the Armenians, from the end of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It makes available, for the first time, an annotated translation of documents written in Armenian, Russian, Persian, and Georgian which primarily deal with, or have relevance to, the Armenians of Transcaucasia. The documents were selected from all twelve volumes of the *Akty*, official publications, as well as numerous published and a dozen unpublished documents from the aforementioned seven Russian, Georgian, and Armenian archives.<sup>2</sup> Several published documents from the archives of Iran and Turkey are also included or are discussed in the commentary.<sup>3</sup>

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ume IX [1884], Generals Golovin' and Neidgardt (1837-1844); volume X [1885], Prince Vorontsov (1845-1854); volume XI [1888], General Murav'ev (1854-1856); and volume XII [1904], Prince Bariatskii (1856-1862).

<sup>1</sup> By the nineteenth century, the Armenians in Transcaucasia inhabited not only parts of what, in ancient times, had constituted the eastern provinces of their kingdom, but had large communities in Georgia, as well as in smaller communities in the Muslim provinces along the Caspian Sea.

<sup>2</sup> The documents have been published in the following: *Prisoedinenie Vostochnoi Armenii k Rossii*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1972-1978), edited by Ts. P. Agaian; *Hay zhogovrdi azatagrakan paykarē T'yurk'akan brnapetut'yan dem* (Erevan, 1955); *Sobranie aktov' otnosiashchikhsia k' obozreniiu istorii Armianskogo naroda*, 3 vols (Moscow, 1833-1838), edited by S. Glinka; *Armiano-Russkie otnosheniia v XVIII veke*, vol. IV (Erevan, 1990), edited by M. Nersisian; and *Gramoty i drugie istoricheskie dokumenty XVIII stoletiiia ontnosiashchiesia do Gruzii*, Vol II, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1902), edited by A. Tsagareli. A number of published documents written by Griboedov, Nersēs of Ashtarak, and certain Decembrists are also included, see abbreviated titles and bibliography. The unpublished documents, all cited in the commentary, are at the Matenadaran Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Published documents of the Foreign Ministry of Iran (*Asnād-e Vezārat-e Omūr-e Kāreje*) dealing with Transcaucasia; Persian decrees in the archives of the Armenian Church in New Julfa-Isfahan, edited by Rā'in; and published documents from the Ar-



The material included here, chosen from some 3,000 documents, provides new data, or clarifies previously known events.<sup>1</sup> Although a few of the documents are not directly connected to the Armenians or to Transcaucasia, they help to illuminate the political or socioeconomic conditions prevalent at the time. Long formal greetings and salutations, repetitive material, and other irrelevant material have, for the most part, been abridged. I have striven in my translation for readability, rather than an exact literal rendering. The stylized Russian, Persian, and Armenian prose of the time has also been modified.<sup>2</sup> The essentials of the documents, however, remain unchanged. The commentary does not attempt to examine or analyze the myriad of facts available in the documents. Rather, it briefly focuses on specific demographic, administrative, religious, and socioeconomic issues. The maps, the appendix, the glossaries, and the biographical data will assist the reader to identify the numerous personal/place names and terms. Persons or place names not identified could not be found in the reference material cited in the bibliography.

I hope that this work will enable students of Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, Kurdish, Persian, Ottoman, and Russian history to have access to primary sources which are not readily available and

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chives of the Prime Minister in Istanbul (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*), dealing with Transcaucasia, edited by Naşiri; see bibliography.

<sup>1</sup> There are four hundred and fifty documents in the text and several hundred others are included in the notes and the commentary. The documents are arranged chronologically and are grouped according to specific time periods corresponding to the tenure of the various administrators in chief of the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> Russian documents refer to the Armenian catholicos as *patriarch* or *patriarch-catholicos*, while Persian documents call him *kalife* (caliph). The Armenian Apostolic Church is referred to as the *Armiano-Grigorienskoe* (Armenian-Gregorian) Church. Russian tsars used all their titles in some of the documents, for example: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod, Tsar of Kazan, Tsar of Astrakhan, Tsar of Siberia, Tsar of Kherson-Taurida, Sovereign of Pskov, Great Prince of Smolensk, Litovsk, Volyn', and Podol'sk, Prince of Tver, Perm, Ryazan, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Vitebsk, plus more than two dozen other titles. The catholicos refer to themselves as Servant of Jesus Christ, Catholicos of All Armenians and of the Church established by Christ and His Apostles, the Deputy of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Successor of the Diocese of Sts. Thaddeus and Bartholomew, and Patriarch of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin in the city of Vagharshapat on the Plain of Ararat.

which have not been translated into Western Languages. I am certain they shall find information not elaborated upon in the notes or the commentary, that will be useful in their own research. In conclusion, it is my sincere wish that this study will prompt other scholars to examine the tens of thousands of documents relating to the various people who inhabited or still inhabit this fascinating region, and that such efforts will foster a better understanding of the cultural, socioeconomic, and political history of Transcaucasia.

## **Documents**

I  
(March 1797-October 1802)

1  
*Archbishop Argutinskii<sup>1</sup> to General Gudovich<sup>2</sup>*  
(10 March<sup>3</sup> 1797)<sup>4</sup>

When the Russian troops arrived in Derbent (Darband), the inhabitants of the nine Armenian villages that surround the town placed themselves under the protection of the Russian Empire. They aided the Russian troops in every way possible and incurred the wrath of the Persians.<sup>5</sup> The news of the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Derbent means that the Armenian leaders will be put to death and the rest of the population imprisoned and sold into slavery. Five hundred Armenian families, consisting of some four thousand Christians, have sent me a tearful petition to ask His Imperial Majesty to save them

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<sup>1</sup> Iosif Argutinskii (Hovsēp' Arghut'ean) was a scion of the famed Russian noble family, the Dolgorukii. In 1773, his pro-Russian sympathies earned him the position of archbishop and prelate of the Armenians in Russia. He acted as a conduit for Armenian (and Georgian) requests to the Russian throne. He was elected catholicos in 1800. He died in March 1801 in Tiflis on the way to Etchmiadzin. Since he was not formally installed, he is not listed among the Armenian catholicos.

<sup>2</sup> General Ivan Gudovich was appointed in 1791 as the commander of the Caucasian Line. In 1796 Catherine II replaced him with Valerian Zubov. Paul reinstated him in 1797 and he served until he was replaced by General Knorring in 1799. In 1806 he once again became commander of the Caucasus, a post he held until 1809.

<sup>3</sup> Except where noted, all dates are according to the Julian calendar.

<sup>4</sup> *SAAN*, II, 148-149. Gudovich responded (from Ekaterinograd) that Russia had no objection to the transfer provided that it was done slowly and in an organized fashion, since no preparations had been made and the sudden transfer of a large number of Armenian families would cause problems, *ibid.*, III, 341-342.

<sup>5</sup> Argutinskii accompanied General Zubov and urged the Armenians of Derbent to cooperate with the Russian army. The Armenians thus feared retaliation for their action.

from the Persian yoke. They ask that the Russian commanders gather all of them and transport them to the safety of the Russian Empire.

The Armenians do not expect any financial assistance from the treasury. They only ask that you provide three or four vessels to transport them and their belongings to Astrakhan or Kizliar, so that they may begin life anew. Among them are wheat farmers, artisans, silk producers, and wine growers....<sup>1</sup>

## 2

### *Archbishop Argutinskii to General Gudovich*

(2 April 1797)<sup>2</sup>

Armenians of the city of Ganja and other parts of that province wish to become loyal citizens of the Russian Empire. They ask if they can proceed to Mozdok without any hindrance from the Russian command. They beg Your Excellency to order Colonel Gregory Ivanovich Nelidov not only to permit their emigration, but to assist them in this endeavor. His Imperial Majesty has given his consent for Christians to depart with the Russian troops and the Armenian nation will be eternally grateful for your help in this matter....

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier petition, dated 24 February, from the Armenians of Derbent and Mukshur (Muskur?) can be found in *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3 (1790-1800), file 463, f. 7. On 4 August 1798, Paul issued a decree which gave 15,547½ *desiatins* (each *desiatin* measures 2.7 acres) in the suburbs of Kizliar to the Armenians of Derbent, *PSZR*, XXV (no. 18614), 331. On 15 April 1799 Paul issued a new decree granting additional privileges to these Armenians, *ibid.*, (no. 18935), 619-620. On 28 October of that year the tsar presented royal charters to the Armenian communities in Kizliar, Astrakhan, Grigoriopol', Crimea, and Mozdok, *ibid.*, (nos. 19166, 19167, 19168, 19169), 832-842 and *SAAN*, I, 203-224. The subsequent history of these communities falls within the scope of the Armenian communities of Russia proper and is, therefore, outside the range of this study. The archives cited here have ample material for those interested in conducting research on these communities.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 463, f. 6. The letter was dispatched from Tiflis.

## 3

*Tsar Paul to General Gudovich*(1 May 1797)<sup>1</sup>

In response to petitions from Armenians living in Derbent and other locations under your jurisdiction, We decree that those who wish to leave with Our troops and to resettle in Astrakhan or Kizliar can do so freely. Safe transport should be arranged for them and state land should be made available for them to make a living in Our domain.

## 4

*King Erekle II<sup>2</sup> to Counselor Bezborodko<sup>3</sup>*(23 June 1797)<sup>4</sup>

Although it is too early for a response to our previous petition to His Imperial Majesty, and despite the fact that we did not wish to bother Your Excellency, our duty to Christianity has forced us to bring the following to your attention:

The princes of Karabagh, the meliks<sup>5</sup> of the Armenian people from early times, wish to resettle in a Christian land and escape the yoke of unbelievers who have oppressed them. The Karabagh princes, Melik Jamshid (Dzhimshid), son of Melik Shahnazarean (Shakhnaza-

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<sup>1</sup> PSZR, XXIV (no. 17947), 601, Gudovich informed Argutinskii of the tsar's action in *SAAN*, III, 341-342.

<sup>2</sup> Erekle II was king of Kakhet'i from 1744 to 1762. He became the king of the united K'art'li-Kakhet'i kingdom (eastern Georgia) in 1762 and continued to rule until his death in 1798.

<sup>3</sup> Among those of Catherine's advisors whom Tsar Paul initially kept in office was Prince Alexander Bezborodko, who acted as senior counselor of foreign affairs until his death in 1799.

<sup>4</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Georgia, record group 110/3, file 454, ff. 101-102.

<sup>5</sup> The meliks of Karabagh had received special privileges from the Safavid shahs, which included a degree of autonomy and their own districts in mountainous Karabagh. Some Karabagh meliks adopted Persian names, such as 'Abbās, Jāmshīd, Ferīdūn or Farīdūn (Fereydūn), and Šāhnazar. Others had two names, an official Persian name and an Armenian name which appeared only on their grave stone. For the genealogy of the various meliks in eastern Armenia, see R. H. Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia," *Revue Des Études Arméniennes*, IX (1972), 285-329; X (1973-74), 281-300; XI (1975-76), 219-243; XIV (1980), 459-470.

rov),<sup>1</sup> and Melik Fireydun (Pridon), son of Melik Beglarean (Begliarov),<sup>2</sup> taking advantage of an opportunity, have, with their followers and families, left Karabagh with their followers and families and have sought refuge with Us. They have requested that they be permitted to present their petition in person to the court of His Imperial Majesty. Since the Armenian prelate, Archbishop Hovsēp', had, with His Majesty's approval, arrived here [Tiflis] with the Russian troops, and was on his way to Russia, we permitted these princes to accompany him. I ask that Your Excellency permit them to present their petition to His Imperial Majesty as Christians who seek relief from oppression....<sup>3</sup>

## 5

*Meliks Jamshid and Fireydun to General Gudovich*(1 August 1797)<sup>4</sup>

The world, Your Excellency, is well aware of the decline and fall of our Armenian nation<sup>5</sup> and its heavy sufferings under the slave-like yoke of Turkish and Persian barbarians. They have pressured us to forgo our faith and embrace theirs and they have taken the product of our labor from us and from our followers. Our fathers endured it and we are enduring it as well.

Our only salvation lies in God and in the Russian State.

Our fathers, in the days of Emperor Peter the Great, petitioned Him to take our people under His protection. Moved by their anguish, the

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<sup>1</sup> The Shahnazareans were the hereditary meliks of the district of Varanda in the highlands of Karabagh.

<sup>2</sup> The Beglareans were the hereditary meliks of the district of Gulistan (Golestān, also known as Talish or Ikirmi-dort) in the highlands of Karabagh.

<sup>3</sup> On 10 July 1797, Erekle wrote to Bezborodko that Archbishop Hovsēp' was very popular with the Transcaucasian Christians and was fully devoted to Russia. Numerous letters from both Erekle and Argutinskii clearly indicate that they wished to convince Paul and his advisors not to abandon Transcaucasia, *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Georgia, record group 110/3, file 454, ff. 104-105.

<sup>4</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, ff. 5-9. The petition was written from Georgievsk. It was also signed by the *yüzbaşı* of Varanda, Petros Uzbashean Madat'ean (Madatov).

<sup>5</sup> The Russian term *natsiia* means nation; the original Armenian text, however, has *azg*, which can be translated as nation, people, or race. It is doubtful that the Armenian meliks defined nation by its later, 19th-century, meaning.

great Monarch extended His hand to them and entered Persia with His army. Our meliks were overjoyed. They gathered a sizable Armenian force and together with the Georgian king, Wakhtang,<sup>1</sup> rushed to join the Russian army. But unfortunately, at the moment of salvation, Peter the Great and His army returned to Russia, leaving us in tears. Our enemies, citing our loyalty to Russia, forced us from our homes, looted our belongings, and killed us.

Some of our ancestors asked if they could relocate to Russia and were given permission to do so. Wartime conditions in Persia, however, allowed only a small number, whose children are now in the service of Russia, to take advantage of that offer.

Then in 1781 and 1782 Generals Suvorov<sup>2</sup> and Potemkin<sup>3</sup> carried on a lengthy correspondence through the Armenian Archbishop in Russia, Hovsēp', promising us freedom. Our preparations to welcome the Russians were discovered by Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi (Shusha).<sup>4</sup> He killed our patriarch, Hovhannēs, the catholicos of Aghuank' (Albania).<sup>5</sup> Melik Vakhtam (Vagdam) was put in jail, where he was later killed.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> King Wakhtang VI Bagration of K'art'li ascended the throne in 1711 and reigned until 1714, when his brother Iese (1714-1716) and then his own son Bak'ar (1717-1719) took over the kingdom. He was reinstated in 1719 and ruled (with the Persian name of Hōseyn-qolī Khan) until 1723, when the Turkish forces occupied Georgia. He and a large number of his followers then sought refuge in Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Vasil'evich Suvorov (ca. 1729-1800), Russian general famous for his campaigns in Europe and against the Turks.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory Aleksandrovich Potemkin (1739-1791), Russian general, a favorite of Catherine the Great, who conducted campaigns in the Black Sea region.

<sup>4</sup> Ebrāhīm Kālīl Khan Jāvānšīr (d. 1806), was the son of Panāh Khan, the first khan of Karabagh. During the second half of the 18th century, the two khans succeeded in penetrating some of the Armenian strongholds in the highlands of Karabagh.

<sup>5</sup> Catholicos Hovhannēs XII Hasan Jalalean (1763-1788). Aghuank' is derived from Caucasian Albania, a state in eastern Transcaucasia, whose population, between the 4th and 11th centuries, was absorbed by the Armenians, Persians, Arabs, and Turks. The religious center of the Armenians in Karabagh and most of eastern Transcaucasia was located in the monastery of Gandzasar and, until the early part of the 19th century, had its own catholicos.

<sup>6</sup> Melik Vakhtam was the ruler of Dizak and belonged to the Avanean clan.



Meliks Mejlum<sup>1</sup> and Abov<sup>2</sup> were kept under house arrest until, taking advantage of an opportune moment, they escaped and joined the army of the king of Georgia [Erekle II], who at that time was with the Russian army at the gates of Ganja. The meliks asked the Russian commander, Colonel Burnashov,<sup>3</sup> to move closer to Shushi or to stay in the vicinity of Ganja for three days, so that they could gather the Christian population of Karabagh and relocate them to Russia. But the commander, who had received his withdrawal orders from Potemkin, was not swayed by their tears or the requests of the Georgian king and returned to the Caucasian Line, leaving the Christians to the wrath of Ebrāhīm Khan.<sup>4</sup>

In 1796, I, Melik Jamshid, managed to save myself through large sums of money. In the same year when Empress Catherine II, of Blessed Memory, ordered the Russian army into Persia under the command of General Count Valerian Aleksandrovich Zubov,<sup>5</sup> because our people wished to be under Russian rule, we sent Melik Fireydun to General Zubov with numerous petitions to take all the five meliks and their followers under his protection. The withdrawal of Russian troops left us unprotected and Ebrāhīm Khan, accusing me [Jamshid] of making a pact with the Russians--which was true--fined me 70,000 rubles, destroyed my house, and took all my belongings....

After that we dispatched Melik Abov to Tiflis to General Rimskii-Korsakov,<sup>6</sup> and later to Colonel Nelidov, to order the Russian army in Ganja to move closer to Melik Abov's territory, some thirty

<sup>1</sup> Melik Mejlum (also known as Majnun) belonged to the Israyēlean family, who ruled the district of Jraberd in the highlands of Karabagh.

<sup>2</sup> Melik Abov, the ruler of Gulistan, was a member of the Beglarian family. He was the son of Melik Hovsēp' and brother of Melik Beglar. Abov was deprived of his power by Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi. In 1799, he and some of the Armenians of his district moved to Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> S. D. Burnashov arrived in Tiflis with 1,800 men in November 1783, following the Treaty of Georgievsk.

<sup>4</sup> The Russian withdrawal took place in September 1787.

<sup>5</sup> Zubov was appointed commander of the Caucasus by Catherine in 1796. He was relieved of his command by Tsar Paul in 1797.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Rimskii-Korsakov took part in the Russo-Turkish wars of the late 18th century.

verts<sup>1</sup> from Ganja, to help evacuate his followers. Receiving no permission, the [Russian] army refused to act....

In the meantime, the inhuman torturer Āğā Moḥammad Khan<sup>2</sup> came to Karabagh and when I [Jamshid] was brought to him, he also demanded 70,000 rubles. Fortunately God took that tyrant away when he was killed on 6 June<sup>3</sup> in Shushi. I then had the chance to escape to Ganja, where I later moved my family but lost all my belongings....

Our people have now learned the good news from our Hovsēp' [Argutinskii] that His Imperial Majesty, Paul, has decided to help the Christian population in Persia to resettle in Russia....<sup>4</sup> As the most senior melik, I have been chosen, together with Melik Fiṛeydun, to submit a petition, which consists of the following points, to Your Excellency:

1. We request that you fulfill the promises of Peter the Great and receive the Armenians from the five melikdoms of Karabagh.<sup>5</sup> They number some 6,000 families, as well as some 5,000 families who have left Karabagh during these times of trouble and are currently in Sheki, Shirvan, and other areas.<sup>6</sup> In addition, many Muslims, who are our neighbors and who have helped us, would also wish to put themselves under the protection of His Imperial Highness.

<sup>1</sup> Russian measure of length equal to 3,500 feet, two-thirds of a mile, or 1.06 kilometers.

<sup>2</sup> The founder of the Qajar dynasty. He assumed control of Persia in 1780.

<sup>3</sup> 17 June 1797 according to the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>4</sup> Hovsēp' continued to act as conduit for numerous petitions from Armenians to the Russian government; see the letter of Captain Hakob Abrahameants' seeking to obtain a new position in the army, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 8, doc. 43.

<sup>5</sup> On 29 December of 1797, Gudovich wrote from Georgievsk to Bezborodko explaining that, in order to relocate the Armenians from Karabagh to Russia or Georgia, Russian troops would have to go there. Such an endeavor would cost money and lives, he concluded, and he argued against such a plan, *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, f. 12.

<sup>6</sup> According to this document close to half of the Armenian population of Karabagh, or some 30,000 people (the average family was between 5 and 6 persons), left their homes. According to other documents in this study, they also went to the khانات of Erevan, Ganja, and the kingdom of eastern Georgia. A significant part returned to Karabagh between 1805 and 1825.

2. At the moment, Persia does not have a stable government. In addition, Ebrāhīm Khan has sought refuge with the Lesghians. Thus this is an opportune time to rescue us. We beg His Imperial Majesty to order the Russian troops in Georgia to go to Shushi, which is 300 *versts* from Tiflis, and to help us gather our people and transport them to Russia. Otherwise, with the withdrawal of Russian troops, our people will be killed or forced to convert to Islam.

3. We humbly request that you permit us to travel with our Hovsēp' and to present our petition at court....<sup>1</sup>

## 6

*Tsar Paul to General Gudovich*  
(7 October 1797)<sup>2</sup>

We have given a positive response to the petitions of the two Armenian meliks of Karabagh, Melik Jamshid, the ruler of Varanda, and Fireydun, the ruler of Gulistan, who have left Persia [Persian Transcaucasia]. They, together with 11,000 families who have relocated to Georgia are under Russian protection.<sup>3</sup> You shall render to those who wish to relocate all the necessary aid to reach the Caucasian Line, protecting them from extortionists and thieves. Upon arrival you shall find them suitable land on which to settle. As to the two meliks, their wish to come to Our capital has been approved....

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<sup>1</sup> On 9 March 1798, the meliks, together with Yüzbaşı Madatov sent a similar petition to Tsar Paul, *AKAK*, I (doc. 872), 632-634. On 30 March, Melik Jamshid sent another petition to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, ff. 347-348. In December of 1798 the meliks came to St. Petersburg, where they submitted their petitions to Lashkarev, *ibid.*, ff. 98-100, and to Tsar Paul, *ibid.*, ff. 108-109, 120-121

<sup>2</sup> *PSZR*, XXIV (no. 18189), 761. This directive was issued in Gatchina.

<sup>3</sup> If these numbers are accurate, they explain the low count of Armenians in the khanates of Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Ganja in the first quarter of the 19th century and their high numbers in Georgia and the northern Caucasus.

## 7

*Tsar Paul's Decree*  
(26 February 1798)<sup>1</sup>

To the Most Honorable Catholicos Ghukas,<sup>2</sup> all honorable meliks, *yüzbaşıs*,<sup>3</sup> officials, and faithful Armenian people, Our Imperial greetings and affection.

Catholicos Ghukas, the patriarch of the Armenian people, who resides in the city of Vagharshapat in Greater Armenia, has sent Us a letter via Archbishop Hovsēp', who resides in Our Empire, congratulating Us on assuming the Imperial throne. We, therefore, declare that We accept Ghukas' petition to keep the Armenian Church and people under Our protection....<sup>4</sup> We assure him that, like Our esteemed ancestors, Peter the Great, Catherine I, and Our Mother, Empress Catherine, all of whom held the honest Armenian people in their special favor by decrees granted in 1724, 1726, and 1768 to Catholicos Esayi (Isai),<sup>5</sup> Nestor,<sup>6</sup> and Simēon (Simion)<sup>7</sup> and to the *yüzbaşıs* and other Armenian officials, so do We place Catholicos Ghukas and his successors, *yüzbaşıs*, officials, and the entire Armenian nation under Our protection and in Our special favor. In addition, We affirm the right of

<sup>1</sup> PSZR, XXV (no. 18402), 108-109; MAAC, Decrees of Russian Tsars and Napoleon, doc. 2; SAAN, I, 194-196. Issued in St. Petersburg and affixed with the Great Seal of Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Ghukas of Karin (1730-1799), catholicos from 1780-1799. Although he asked for Russian assistance, he was very careful not to put the Holy See in an adversarial position with the Persians.

<sup>3</sup> A commander of one hundred men (generally a captain). The title was also used by administrative officials.

<sup>4</sup> On 20 July 1797, Ghukas petitioned Paul to follow his mother's example and to protect the Armenians and their Church, MAAC, record group 2, doc. 6, ff. 93-96. Another letter, dated 31 July, was dispatched to Archbishop Hovsēp' asking him to use his influence in reaffirming Catherine's decree given to Catholicos Simēon, see *Diwan Hayots' patmut'ean*, IX, 222-226.

<sup>5</sup> Esayi Hasan Jalalean [Jalaleants'] (1702-1728) was the catholicos of Aghuank' in Gandzasar, Karabagh. He was also a historian, who wrote a brief historical narrative on Karabagh, see *Patmut'iwn hamarot Aghuanits' erkri* (Jerusalem, 1868).

<sup>6</sup> Probably refers to catholicos of Aghuank' Nersēs Hakat'or (d. 1736).

<sup>7</sup> Catholicos Simēon of Erevan (1763-1780).

the catholicos to act as the spiritual leader of the Armenians living in Our Empire. We have informed Our border commanders that all Armenian clerics visiting Our Empire must have the written permission of the said catholicos....<sup>1</sup>

## 8

*Fath 'Alī Shah<sup>2</sup> to King Giorgi XII<sup>3</sup>*  
(5 June 1798)<sup>4</sup>

Since Allah has favored us with the royal throne, has put a crown on our head, and has given us the right to rule over all the people in our domain, we have come to Mīyāne<sup>5</sup> in Azerbaijan and have accepted the submission of all the *beglerbegs*<sup>6</sup> in the region, who have presented themselves before us.<sup>7</sup> Since Georgia is a major part of Azerbaijan and since the Persian shahs have always ruled over the Georgian kings, we desire that you submit to us and we shall respect you far more than our predecessors honored the previous Georgian rulers. We have, therefore, asked our *nasaqčī-bāšī*,<sup>8</sup> Moḥammad Khan, to convey our order that you send one of your sons to permanently serve us at court. You shall then have the opportunity to benefit from our favor and your people and land will continue to receive the warm rays of

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<sup>1</sup> On the same day Bezborodko dispatched a letter to Catholicos Ghukas via Archbishop Hovsēp' in which he informed the catholicos of an imperial gift consisting of 35 *arshin* (one *arshin* equaled 28 inches) of exquisite cloth and a gold chain with jewels. The gifts were to be delivered by Hovsēp', who acknowledged their receipt, *AVPR*, Russia's Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 462, f. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Bābā Khan, the nephew of Āḡā Moḥammad Shah, succeeded his uncle, who had been castrated in youth, as Fath 'Alī Shah (1797-1834).

<sup>3</sup> Giorgi XII (1798-1800) was the last king of eastern Georgia. He is sometimes referred to as Giorgi XIII, because Giorgi XI ruled twice.

<sup>4</sup> *GRAM*, II (pt. 2), 181-182. The letter was received in T'elavi and translated into Georgian on 3 July.

<sup>5</sup> A town southeast of Tabriz.

<sup>6</sup> *Beglerbeg* (*beylerbey*) was a governor-general of a large province. Most governors were khans of tribes that supported the shah.

<sup>7</sup> Keeping their contacts with Russia, the khans of Azerbaijan and eastern Armenia, as well as the Armenian catholicos, accepted the authority of the new shah.

<sup>8</sup> Commander of the shah's bodyguard.

our sun.<sup>1</sup> If you ignore your good fortune, take the wrong course, and refuse to serve us, we shall come to your lands, raise our flag--as it was raised by Āgā Moḥammad Khan--and once again devastate your land and enslave its people.<sup>2</sup> It is wiser to obey our command and submit to our counsel.<sup>3</sup>

## 9

*King Giorgi XII to Archbishop Hovsep*  
(27 June 1798)<sup>4</sup>

We received your letter and are grateful for the friendship that you offered to our son, Prince David.<sup>5</sup> As to the news here, the commander of the Persian Army, Soleyman Khan, the uncle of Bābā Khan,<sup>6</sup> arrived in Tabriz, prior to Bābā Khan's own arrival there. He sent an official, Moḥammad Khan, who arrived in Tiflis on the 27th of this month, that is, on a Sunday. He expressed the wish to meet us in our quarters in K'isiq,<sup>7</sup> where we had traveled. Here we learned of the Persian demands, the details of which we are sending to you via Prince

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<sup>1</sup> The Persian emblem consisted of a lion with a sun rising in the background. The shah thus used an appropriate symbol in inviting Georgia's submission.

<sup>2</sup> Reference is made to the sack of Tiflis in September 1795, where in addition to burning, looting, and killing, the Persians enslaved 15,000 Armenians and Georgians.

<sup>3</sup> Giorgi sent urgent messages to Paul requesting Russian protection, which had been promised under the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783), see *GRAM*, II (pt. 2), 188-190, 194-195.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 182-183.

<sup>5</sup> David Batonishvili, eldest son of Giorgi, claimed the title of Prince-Regent of Georgia after the death of his father. He maintained his uncertain position until 12 September 1801, when Tsar Alexander confirmed the final annexation of eastern Georgia. On 12 April 1802, following the publication of Alexander's manifesto in Tiflis, the Bagratid dynasty was terminated.

<sup>6</sup> Fath 'Alī Shah, prior to 1813, was not recognized as the sole ruler of Persia by the Russian administration, which continued to refer to him by his previous title (Bābā Khan). The Russians thus not only encouraged pretenders to the Persian throne, but demeaned the authority of the shah. This act was rightly interpreted as an insult by the shah and the Persians. In article IV of the Treaty of Gulistan (Golestān), the Russians finally accepted the shah and addressed him as His Majesty and Sovereign Ruler of Persia, see text of treaty in J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, I (Princeton, 1956), 85.

<sup>7</sup> A province in Kakhet'i.

Avalov.<sup>1</sup> We hope that you do not lose time in advancing our petition to His Excellency, the chancellor, and His Honor Lashkarev....<sup>2</sup>

## 10

*Prince David to Archbishop Hovsēp*<sup>3</sup>(28 June 1798)<sup>3</sup>

The situation here, for your information, is as follows: Bābā Khan has arrived in Urmiye, where he has dispatched Moḥammad Khan Qajar with a *farman* (royal edict) demanding that King Giorgi send his son to Bābā Khan, otherwise the devastation of Āḡā Moḥammad will be repeated. His Highness, the king, has asked that you immediately inform Prince Bezborodko and Prince Kurakin<sup>4</sup> that our situation is desperate. If we denounce the Russians, then we will break our word and lose our honor and face shame. If we do not denounce the Russians, then Georgia will face an even greater danger than it did during the reign of King Erekle. If you value our friendship and our support, you shall find a solution. This is especially difficult for me, since I am the heir to the throne, while at the same time I am in the service of the Emperor....

## 11

*Melik Fireydun to Tsar Paul*(23 December 1798)<sup>5</sup>

Having reached Your August Court I need to recall the hardships which have befallen me:

Twenty years ago General Suvorov, who was in Astrakhan wrote to my father, Melik Beglar, in Karabagh, stating that Her Imperial Maj-

<sup>1</sup> Prince G. Avalishvili (Avalov) was one of the envoys sent by Giorgi to Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Sergei Lazarevich Lashkarev (1739-1814) was a Russian diplomat who worked in the Asiatic Department of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs. One of his specialties was Armenian affairs.

<sup>3</sup> *GRAM*, II (pt. 2), 279-280.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Borisovich Kurakin (1752-1818) was a senator during Paul's reign. He was twice appointed a vice-chancellor by Tsar Alexander. He served as Russian ambassador in Vienna and Paris. He seems to have retired in 1812.

<sup>5</sup> *AKAK*, I, (doc. 871), 631-632.

esty, Your Mother, had granted him and his followers the protection of Russia and had invited them to become Russian subjects. My father replied that he was willing to do so the moment the Russian army arrived in Karabagh. Unfortunately, soon after, my father was killed by our enemies the Lesghians. I was a child at the time. Later General Potemkin, upon arrival at the Caucasian Line and unaware of my father's death, wrote him a letter asking him to accompany Colonel Burnashov and relocate with his followers to Georgia. Since my father was dead I read the letter with joyous tears. But Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi, mistrustful of all Christians and having thousands of spies everywhere, found out about the message. Although the Russian forces had, after reaching Ganja, withdrawn to Georgia [and did not come to Karabagh], the khan nevertheless attacked our homes and took our belongings. I was forced to leave my subjects and flee with my family. I reached the Russian troops and came to Georgia, where I entered the service of the late King Erekle. At the start of the last war with Persia, I joined the Russian forces under General Zubov, in order to liberate my lands and my subjects. This army was not destined to liberate us from the barbarians either, for it also returned to Russia. I tried to escape to Georgia but could not hide from Ebrāhīm Khan. I was captured by his men and taken to him.

I endured immeasurable tortures and was prepared to die when my uncle, Melik Jamshid, gave the khan 10,000 rubles. My life was spared, but I was kept under arrest. Soon Āğā Moḥammad Khan attacked Karabagh, forced Ebrāhīm Khan to flee to the Lesghians, and in the process robbed my uncle as well. When Āğā Moḥammad was killed by his own men in Karabagh, Melik Jamshid and I found the opportunity to flee to Georgia. In September of last year my brother and other uncles led my subjects out of Karabagh to Georgia. Some 1,000 families arrived and were given refuge by King Giorgi, of which your administration was informed by Prince Garsevan Chavchavadze....<sup>1</sup>

I ask Your Imperial Majesty to grant me and my subjects a generous allowance to sustain us in our new surroundings as subjects of

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<sup>1</sup> Chavchavadze was the Georgian envoy to St. Petersburg.



Your Empire. I hope that my brother-in-law, Georgi Kaloev, and I will be able to behold Your Highness and be graced with Your favor.<sup>1</sup>

## 12

*Melik Jamshid to Tsar Paul*

(23 December 1798)<sup>2</sup>

During the reign of His Imperial Majesty Peter the Great, our grandfathers and fathers ruled their domains in Karabagh and as Christians were loyal to Russia. After their death, we, the five meliks, Jamshid of Varanda, Fıreydun of Gulistan, Rostom of Jraberd, Astuatsatur of Khachen, and Abas of Dizak, ruled our territories surrounded by Turks, Persians, and Lesghians. In order to maintain our orthodox<sup>3</sup> Christian faith we were forced to have relations, sometimes friendly and sometimes unfriendly, with our neighbors. We lived under our own laws and had control over our lands and subjects. This was the situation when General Zubov, at the head of the victorious Russian army in Shirvan, sent Major Kachkachov to Ebrāhīm Kālīl Khan of Karabagh on some business. The major secretly invited me and my subjects to place ourselves under Russian suzerainty. Since I had long wished for this, I swore my loyalty to Russia on the Holy Gospel, and sent a message that I and my forces would meet General Zubov's army at the Kura River and aid him in his campaign. But just as we were ready to move, the Russian army was recalled. My enemies immediately told Ebrāhīm Khan of my agreement with Russia. He called me to his presence, showered me with abuse, and accused me of wishing his demise. He took not only my gold and silver, but my flocks as well. He arrested me and was planning to put me to death. Fortunately, at that moment Āğā Moḥammad invaded Karabagh. Ebrāhīm took his wife and children and fled to Daghestan. Āğā

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<sup>1</sup> The above petition was written in St. Petersburg.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 873), 634-635.

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian text has *ughghap'ar* which can be translated as "true" or "orthodox." Although the Armenian Apostolic Church (unlike the Georgian Church) was not in communion with the Russian Orthodox Church, the translator at the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, Kristofor Khalafov (probably an Armenian), may have implied the latter meaning to strengthen the petition of the melik.

Moḥammad arrived in the fortress of Shushi, took whatever was left of my belongings, and was then killed there. Fearing the return of Ebrāhīm, I left my house, lands, and subjects and fled with my son Pōghos (Paul), my nephew Fiṛeydun, Yüzbaşı Petros, and our wives and children to Georgia. I left the family there and with my son, nephew, and our yüzbaşı have come to the court of Your Imperial Majesty. My loyalty oath to Russia and my willingness to help her army has lost me my lands and my wealth. We would like to gaze at Your Benevolence and be granted financial assistance as Your loyal subjects....Please remember that there are other meliks still under the yoke in Karabagh who hope that Your army will liberate them, as well.<sup>1</sup>

## 13

*Information on Karabagh on File at the Collegium<sup>2</sup>  
of Foreign Affairs  
(1798)<sup>3</sup>*

The region under the rule of the Armenians is called Karabagh.

The first melik is Melik Jamshid, son of Melik Shahnazar, whose district is called Varanda and includes the fortress of Shushi. His son and yüzbaşı are with him here in St. Petersburg.

Second is Melik Abov, son of Melik Hovsēp', whose district is Ikirmidort with the fortress of Gulistan. He has moved most of his subjects to Georgia, where he is relying on the kindness of King Giorgi. His nephew Fiṛeydun is here with Melik Jamshid.

Third is Melik Rostom, son of Yüzbaşı Alaverdov. Rostom is the current ruler of Jraberd. Although the clan is considered first among the five meliks, since the son of Melik Mejlum (grandson of Melik

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<sup>1</sup> The petition was written in St. Petersburg.

<sup>2</sup> Collegia or Colleges were established by Peter the Great, starting in 1717, to serve as ministries. Originally nine, later twelve, they consisted of a president, a vice-president, four counselors, four assessors, a procurator, a secretary, and a chancellery. Beginning in 1802, Tsar Alexander I replaced them with eight ministries, with a single minister in charge of each ministry.

<sup>3</sup> Sometime in December, during the visit of Jamshid and Fiṛeydun to St. Petersburg, *AKAK*, I (doc. 874), 635.

Adam) is under age [Rostom served as guardian], Melik Jamshid is, for the time being, the leader of the five meliks.

Fourth is Melik Abas, son of Melik Vakhtam, whose district is called Dizak.

Fifth is Melik Alaverdi, son of Melik Mirzakan, whose district is called Khachen.

The above meliks have subordinates called *yüzbaşıs*, who are hereditary commanders and who receive allotments from the meliks....

#### 14

#### *Karabagh Meliks to Tsar Paul*

(29 March 1799)<sup>1</sup>

Most August Monarch.

It is almost two years since we abandoned our sovereignty, our domains, and our families and sought the protection of Your Highness. We have, through His Excellency Prince Alexander Andreevich Bezborodko, submitted our petitions in which we detailed the events which were first enumerated in our petition to Counselor Lashkarev. We are destitute and our families are under the harsh yoke of the unbelievers. We pray to God and place all our hopes in Your benevolence. Like the people of Israel under the whip of the pharaoh, our people, who are under Persian rule, seek the eternally strong and God-given scepter of Your Imperial Majesty.

Moreover, our relatives inform us that the leader of Persia, Bābā Khan, is planning to invade Georgia and subdue its king and people. When he does, our past actions will cause his wrath to spill the blood of our relatives. We thus beg Your Most August Monarch not to abandon us, but like previous tsars, protect our people and glorify Your name throughout the world....

Melik Jamshid, Melik Fiṛeydun, Petros Madatov.

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<sup>1</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, ff. 189-190.

## 15

*Prince David to Archbishop Hovsep'*(15 April 1799)<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to inform you of certain events which have transpired here. The khan of Kōi, Hōseyn-qolī, has died and his brother, Ĵa'far-qolī Khan,<sup>2</sup> has succeeded him. He and the khan of Erevan [Moḥammad Khan]<sup>3</sup> have written to my father on the 11th of this month and have informed him that Bābā Khan has written to them that he shall be shortly coming to Azerbaijan. They have asked my father to send troops to help them defend Azerbaijan against Bābā Khan.

The French General Bonaparte has sent my father an envoy, who traveled through Turkey until he arrived in Akhaltsikhe, where the local pasha, upon finding out his mission, hanged him and burned his letters. I am sure you are better informed than we are, but we hear that although the French have conquered many cities in Egypt, they have been defeated by the Russians in Cephalonia [Kefallenia].<sup>4</sup>

A certain Armenian bishop who was blinded by the Turks and whose teeth were all knocked out has recently been freed and has arrived at the Araratian monastery of Etchmiadzin to tell us this news.

I pray that God will soon send us His Majesty's troops here so that we can maintain our [pro-Russian] policy. Please give my regards to Sergei Lazarevich Lashkarev and inform him of the above news.

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<sup>1</sup> GRAM, II (pt. 2), 203-204.

<sup>2</sup> For more details on the actions of this khan, see documents 20 and 35.

<sup>3</sup> Moḥammad Khan Qajar, khan of Erevan from the late 1780s to 1805 (except for short periods in 1794 and 1796-97, when he was replaced by 'Alī-qolī Khan, a brother of Āḡā Moḥammad Khan and Ḥasan Khan of Mākū).

<sup>4</sup> One of the Ionian Islands off western Greece.

## 16

*The Collegium of Foreign Affairs to Peter Kovalenskii*<sup>1</sup>  
(16 April 1799)<sup>2</sup>

In accordance with our treaty with the late Georgian king, Erekle, son of T'eimuraz,<sup>3</sup> signed on 24 July 1783, His Imperial Majesty has ordered that we relieve you of your present duties and appoint you as the Imperial envoy to the Georgian king in Tiflis. We are including His Imperial Majesty's instructions to you,<sup>4</sup> and His decree,<sup>5</sup> with a Georgian translation, to facilitate obtaining the necessary travel documents....

10. The Armenian meliks, Jamshid and Fireydun, who are in Georgia, and others who have escaped with their followers and who are here or in Persia [Persian Transcaucasia], are under the protection of His Majesty and have received lands. His Majesty desires that many more Christian Armenian communities be encouraged to settle in Georgia and that the Georgian king make suitable estates available to their meliks. It would also be desirable if the Armenian meliks have their own income so that they will not be under the control of the Georgian king. Copies of petitions from the meliks made to the Collegium are enclosed. Thus you shall be able to assess the situation when the right conditions present themselves. It would be also wise to explain to the Georgian king the benefits of having large Christian communities on his border regions to block incursions by Muslims....<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Ivanovich Kovalenskii was, in 1799, appointed the Russian envoy to the Georgian court in Tiflis. In 1801 he became the governor of Tiflis, a position he kept until the arrival of Knorring in 1802.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 1), 93-96. Written by Count Victor Kochubei and Count Fedor Rostopchin'.

<sup>3</sup> King T'eimuraz II (1732-1744) of Kakhet'i, father of Erekle II.

<sup>4</sup> Only item number 10, which relates to the Armenians, is translated here.

<sup>5</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 3), 96.

<sup>6</sup> The Armenians had begun immigrating into Georgia in the Middle Ages and continued to do so until the second half of the 18th century. A new wave, between 1783 and 1826, increased the Armenian population, especially in Tiflis, where the Armenians became a majority. General Lazarev, himself an Armenian, complained that two Armenian officials, the melik and Tumanov, who practically ran the city of Tiflis, refused to change their outdated [Asiatic] practices, *AKAK*, I (doc. 10), 102.

## 17

*Tsar Paul to Treasurer Vasil'ev*<sup>1</sup>  
(22 April 1799)<sup>2</sup>

For their suffering during the last Persian war, due to their loyalty to Russia, We, in Our kindness, order that the Armenian meliks, Jamshid, the ruler of Varanda, and Fireydun, the ruler of Gulistan, receive an annual pension. It is to consist of 1,400 rubles to the former and 1,000 rubles to the latter.<sup>3</sup> To Pōghos, son of Jamshid, 600 rubles. The funds should be available to them at Our mission in Georgia where the above meliks have relocated. They should sign receipts upon receiving said funds....<sup>4</sup>

## 18

*Kovalenskii to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs*  
(7 May 1799)<sup>5</sup>

I have to ask your opinion regarding contacts with the Armenian catholicos residing in Etchmiadzin. My duties will, of course, make it necessary that I get in touch with him from time to time. In his lofty position he has an enormous influence over his people. However, we can not expect that in his delicate situation<sup>6</sup> he would conduct open correspondence with us. Will you allow me to visit him on a pretext? I shall thus meet with the brotherhood and prepare the ground for the election of a candidate who is favorable to our cause. It is said that by right of seniority, succession should fall to the Armenian archbishop

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<sup>1</sup> Aleksei Ivanovich Vasil'ev was appointed state treasurer by Paul, a position he held until 1800. In 1802 he was made minister of finance by Tsar Alexander I.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, f. 187.

<sup>3</sup> 1.25 rubles equaled one pound sterling in this period. The annual pension granted the meliks was thus very large.

<sup>4</sup> The tsar also ordered gold medals with diamonds to be awarded to the meliks, *TSGIA*, record group 1374/ 2, file 1790, f. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Georgia, record group 110/3, file 456, ff. 186-187. The original document is longer. It begins on f. 179, in which Kovalenskii asked the Collegium a number of questions. Material dealing with the Armenians is translated here.

<sup>6</sup> Refers to the fact that Etchmiadzin is under Persian rule.

residing in Russia [Argutinskii]. My contacts there will assure his supporters of our interest in his election. The catholicos is very old and our success in this matter will facilitate our future plans....

## 19

*Tsar Paul to Hovsēp' Argutinskii*(9 May 1799)<sup>1</sup>

To The Armenian Archbishop Hovsēp'.

Your zeal in performing the duties delegated to you in your lofty position has come to Our attention. As a sign of Our special favor, We make you a Cavalier of the Order of St. Anne, First Class, with all its privileges....

## 20

*Consul Skibinevskii<sup>2</sup> to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs*(15 May 1799)<sup>3</sup>

Bābā Khan has once again dispatched a large force, under the command of his son and Soleyman Khan, against Ĵa'far-qolī Khan<sup>4</sup> of Tabriz. It seems Bābā Khan was distracted by a revolt led by his younger brother, Hōseyn, and did not manage to subdue the khan last summer. In the meantime, Bābā Khan has received news from Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi that Russian forces are on their way to Georgia and Erevan and are planning to move the Armenians from Karabagh to Georgia and Mozdok. Bābā Khan has, therefore, ordered Soleyman Khan to dispatch part of his army to Erevan to strengthen the local garrison and to put the defense of the fortress under the command of a Qajar grandee, who will be in charge of the garrison as

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<sup>1</sup> SAAN, I, 199. Signed by the tsar in Pavlovsk.

<sup>2</sup> M. Skibinevskii was the Russian consul in the Persian port of Anzālī (Bandar-e Pahlavī) on the Caspian Sea.

<sup>3</sup> AVPR, Russian Relations with Persia, record group 77/6 (1799), file 490, ff. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Ĵa'far-qolī Khan Donbolī (Dombolī) claimed parts of Azerbaijan as his domain and resisted both Fath 'Alī Shah and the Ottomans. With Russian support he maintained himself in Kōi and Mākū.

well. He has also written to Ebrāhīm Khan to treat the Armenians of Karabagh gently. In addition, Bābā Khan is paying special attention to the secret talks between Moṣṭafā Khan of Talesh and Ĵa'far Khan of Tabriz, and is also concerned about the ties between Mortazā-qolī Khan<sup>1</sup> and Moṣṭafā Khan. Last November, Mortazā-qolī Khan sent a message to Bābā Khan, via Qorbān 'Alī Qajar, to bring him back from Russia [Astrakhan] and to appoint him as governor of Gīlān. Qorbān 'Alī, however, did not proceed directly to Tehran but stopped at Lenk-  
 oran to visit Moṣṭafā Khan, before continuing on to Bābā Khan. Bābā Khan suspects that Mortazā-qolī Khan and Moṣṭafā Khan are planning to challenge his rule. Bābā Khan plans to entice Mortazā-qolī Khan to Rašt and to exile him to the interior of Persia. Bābā Khan has set off for Khorasan to subdue his rebellious brother, Ḥoseyn, to expel Turkmen and Yamuts from the vicinity of Astarābād, and to prevent the Afghans from making incursions into Zabolestān. Although Bābā Khan has been informed that the Arabs, encouraged by the French, are planning to invade Šām and attack Baghdad, he is not overly concerned, for he is sure the Ottomans will be able to repulse them. As for the situation in Gīlān, our trade in certain items may be affected. I enclose a note from Ḥoseyn 'Alī Khan (son of the late Hedāyat Khan of Gīlān), as well as a copy of the *farman* of Bābā Khan. The contents should convince members of the Collegium of the power of Bābā Khan and his stature among provincial governors. He has asked Ḥoseyn 'Alī Khan to pay for the privilege of running the customs in Anzalī, Rašt, and Lāhejān. He has also asked sums for various other items, quantities of silk, and the cost of maintenance of local troops under the command of Mīrzā Bābā. Ḥoseyn 'Alī Khan is satisfied with these demands, since he alone will be in charge of the port of Anzalī and will not share it with Mīrzā Bābā. Ḥoseyn will thus continue to deal with me and I will do everything to keep our friendly relations intact.

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<sup>1</sup> Mortazā-qolī Khan was the half-brother of Āgā Moḥammad Khan. He was appointed by the latter as the governor of Gīlān in 1782. He fell out of favor and left for Russia via Transcaucasia in 1784, but he continued to communicate from Russia with the chiefs of the Caspian littoral.



## 21

*Decree of Tsar Paul to the Meliks of Karabagh*(2 June 1799)<sup>1</sup>

To Melik Jamshid Shahnazarean, ruler of Varanda and Melik Fiṛeydun Beglarean, ruler of Gulistan, both sovereign and famed nobles, and to other meliks, yūzbaşıs, and [Armenian] people of the well-known province of Karabagh, Our Imperial greetings.

Information from Our officials has confirmed the nature of your petitions. We, therefore, decree that you and your subjects can relocate to Our Empire, or to any district belonging to Giorgi, King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i. We have granted you the status of subjects of Our Empire. You can settle in the district of Kazakh (Qazzāq)<sup>2</sup> and those Armenians from Karabagh who voluntarily wish to join you can do so, in order to protect Kazakh against invaders.... You will continue to act as rulers of your subjects and will have total autonomy in the said district as guests of the Georgian king. We ask that you keep the king and Our representative in Georgia, Kovalenskii, informed of anything which may concern Us. We rely on your loyalty and honesty and continue to regard you in Our favor, as demonstrated by the pensions and medals granted to you....

## 22

*Tsar Paul to King Giorgi XII*(3 June 1799)<sup>3</sup>

Meliks Jamshid Shahnazarean, the ruler of Varanda, and Melik Fiṛeydun Beglarean, the ruler of Gulistan, and Yūzbaşı Petros Madatov, all from the famed province of Karabagh, who with their retinues were at Our Court, are being sent to your majesty. They are subjects of

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I, (doc. 875), 635-636; PSZR, XXV (no. 18990), 674-675; SAAN I, 199-201; Leo, *Hayots' patmut'hyun*, III (pt. 2), Erevan, 1973, 413. Written in Pavlovsk.

<sup>2</sup> The Kazakh district was populated by Armenians and the Qazzāq tribe led by their own khans.

<sup>3</sup> SAAN, I, 201-202; PSZR XXV (no. 18991), 675-676; AVPR, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 464, ff. 196-198.

Our Empire who have forsaken their domains because of oppression and have sought Our Imperial protection. They, and their followers, wish to be allowed to settle in the district of Kazakh. They are to continue to enjoy their former rights over their subjects. They are to use their troops to safeguard the domains of your majesty at all times. We ask you to observe Christian charity and to aid them in this endeavor. The meliks are to be autonomous and are to have total control over the Armenians living in their district. They shall enjoy all the income from the land and should be welcome, as long as they do not go against the well-being of Our mutual interests. If, however, any of them wishes to do Us harm, We shall, upon submission of proof, deal with them appropriately....

We hope that Melik Jamshid, who is regarded as the leader of these Armenians, will be received with proper honor, a matter which has been communicated to Our minister [Kovalenskii]. We shall forever regard your majesty in Our Imperial favor....<sup>1</sup>

## 23

*Sergei Lashkarev to Peter Kovalenskii*

(1 August 1799)<sup>2</sup>

Responding to item 10...<sup>3</sup> your visiting the abode of the Armenian catholicos. The minister is not altogether against it, but he advises great caution, so that the catholicos and his Church are not subjected to the enmity of the Turks and Persians. It is best to act primarily as a mediator and not to permit anyone to take advantage of our involvement. The minister also adds that if an election for a new patriarch becomes necessary--due to the extreme old age of the present catholicos--we should not take sides. Our Armenian Archbishop, Hovsēp', has numerous supporters at Etchmiadzin. We should appear impartial--the Synod at Etchmiadzin will eventually elect him as catholicos. They themselves should ask His Majesty and the Archbishop to accept their choice. Hovsēp' can then ask our permission to travel from Russia to

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<sup>1</sup> On 28 June, Count Kochubei and Count Rostopchin' asked the Senate to confirm the decree and make it official, *ibid.*, f. 270.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Georgia, record group 110/3, file 456, f. 225.

<sup>3</sup> See document 18.

be closer to his future post. We shall then find a worthy successor to take up his position in Russia....<sup>1</sup>

## 24

*Melik Abraham<sup>2</sup> and Yüzbaşı Gabriël<sup>3</sup> to Hovsēp' Argutinskii*  
(9 February 1800)<sup>4</sup>

We are aware that Archbishop Dawit',<sup>5</sup> during the lifetime of the late Catholicos Ghukas, wrote to Your Excellency, seeking your permission to place your name as the primary candidate<sup>6</sup> for the position of our next catholicos. I am sure that Your Excellency has already received that letter. On 29 December, a day [after] our holy father passed away, we were invited to Etchmiadzin to attend his funeral and to select [candidates for] a new catholicos. We expressed our wish that you, by right of seniority and long service, be included in the list of candidates. The council agreed to do so.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The document contains responses to other question not related to the Armenians. On 15 October, Catholicos Ghukas wrote to Kochubei requesting that he send Archbishop Hovsēp' to Etchmiadzin as heir-apparent to the Holy See, *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 462, ff. 188-192. It took approximately eight weeks for a letter to reach St. Petersburg from Transcaucasia. The catholicos died in December of 1799 while the paperwork for Hovsēp's departure from Russia was being prepared.

<sup>2</sup> Melik Abraham Aghamal (Aghamalean) had been, since the late 1780s, the secular leader of the Armenians of the khanate of Erevan. He and some of his followers left Erevan with Tsitsianov. He was enrolled among the Russian nobility.

<sup>3</sup> Gabriël Gegham (Geghamean), had been, since the late 1780s, the chief constable of the predominantly Armenian district of Kırk-Bulagh in the Erevan province. He and his clan also left Erevan with Tsitsianov's troops. He was enrolled among the Russian nobility.

<sup>4</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1780-1801), file 184, ff. 41-42.

<sup>5</sup> Dawit' V of Enēgēt', catholicos from 1801-1807, and Daniël of Surmari, catholicos from 1807 to 1808, both claimed the catholicos's throne in 1801, following the death of catholicos-elect Hovsēp'. The controversy embroiled the Russians, the Persians, and the Ottomans in the affairs of the Armenian Church.

<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the Russians and their sympathizers were looking for an ardent supporter of Russian policy to follow the more cautious Ghukas.

<sup>7</sup> Armenian Church sources indicate that the council initially could not agree on the candidates. Archbishops Dawit', Minas, Ep'rem, Daniël, and Hovsēp' were all considered. When they finally came to an agreement (30 December), Hovsēp's name was not included. Only two candidates were suggested: Archbishop Daniël, the newly

After our return from Etchmiadzin we received a letter<sup>1</sup> from the Georgian king, Giorgi, and his heir, Prince David. It was delivered by their *minşikar-başı*,<sup>2</sup> Prince Iosif Bebutov,<sup>3</sup> and Vardapet Ter-Arak'-el.<sup>4</sup> The letter, addressed to the khan of Erevan and the hierarchy at Holy Etchmiadzin, expressed their desire that Your Excellency's name be the primary one on the list submitted to Constantinople.<sup>5</sup>

Upon receipt of the letter, our khan immediately dispatched us, together with Prince Bebutov, to Etchmiadzin. Discovering the content of the letter, the council immediately prepared a document and forwarded it, in the care of Archbishop Dawit', to Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> Although we do not know if you will favor us with your acceptance, we hope that you will not refuse our wishes and those of the entire Armenian nation. We hope that you will arrive as soon as possible, comfort us, and permit us to quench our thirst through your presence.

We have informed the king of Georgia of our actions and have petitioned him to write to whomever necessary to facilitate your immediate departure.

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elected patriarch of Constantinople, and Archbishop Ep'rem, who as collector of offerings (*nuirak*) owed the Holy See, was in Russia at the time, see K. Maksoudian, *Chosen of God: The Election of the Catholicos of All Armenians* (New York, 1995), p. 95; M. Mseriants, *Pat'mutiun Katoghikosats Ejmiatsni* (Moscow, 1876), p. 14.

<sup>1</sup> It seems that the letter arrived a few days after the meeting at Etchmiadzin.

<sup>2</sup> The "master of the hunt." This Perso-Turkish title, like many others, had been adopted by the Georgian court.

<sup>3</sup> Prince Bebutov was the secular chief of the Armenians of Tiflis, a post he maintained after the Russian annexation of Georgia. He was the father of Lieutenant General V. O. Bebutov, who served as the military governor of Erevan shortly after the Russian conquest of that city.

<sup>4</sup> He was the senior priest in charge of the Armenian cathedral in Tiflis.

<sup>5</sup> Subsequent correspondence and actions indicate that Major General Ivan Lazarev, the commander of the Russian forces in Tiflis, helped to draft the letter.

<sup>6</sup> The text reads *Tsargrad*, the Russian Orthodox name for Constantinople.

## 25

*Peter Kovalenskii to Tsar Paul*(18 February 1800)<sup>1</sup>

As part of my diligent service on behalf of Your Majesty, and as part of my appointed duty, I did not hesitate to cautiously employ all means to ensure that he who would be elevated to the rank of Catholicos of All Armenians would have the interests of Your Majesty in mind. Due to my efforts, Archbishop Hovsēp', the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia, has been nominated by the Church Council to the throne of the catholicos--providing that Your Majesty will discharge him from his present duties. I have been entrusted with the official invitation of the Synod to Archbishop Hovsēp'....

## 26

*King Giorgi XII's Grant to Melik Jamshid*(29 February 1800)<sup>2</sup>

We, the King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i, Giorgi XII, descended from Kings David, Solomon [of Israel],<sup>3</sup> etc., with our Queen Marie,<sup>4</sup> of the Tsitsianov princely house, our children and grandchildren David, Ioane,<sup>5</sup> Bagrat, T'eimuraz, etc., favor you, Melik Jamshid, your son,

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<sup>1</sup> AVPR, Armenian Affairs (1780-1801), file 184, ff. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 877), 637.

<sup>3</sup> For purposes of prestige, the Armenian Bagratid dynasty, the ancestors of the Georgian Bagratids, claimed descent from David and Solomon of Israel.

<sup>4</sup> Mariam, wife of Giorgi, was unhappy with the Russian takeover of her land. In 1803 she stabbed General Lazarev to death, for which she was exiled to Russia and spent seven years in the Belogorodskii convent in Voronezh.

<sup>5</sup> Ioane Batonishvili, advised his brother, David, the regent of Georgia, to petition Tsar Alexander to amend the annexation manifesto issued by Paul. The brothers wrote to Prince Beglar Orbeliani, a Georgian nobleman in the service of the tsar, to arrange the removal of Knorring and Lazarev, whom they disliked intensely. Although, after the initial manifesto, real power was transferred to the Russians, there is ample evidence that Paul desired to leave the Bagratid dynasty in place. After his murder, there was a six-month debate in the Russian court about whether or not to retain a symbolic semblance of the Georgian royal house. Tsar Alexander ended all debate by confirm-

and your descendants, who have left the territory of Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi and have taken permanent residence in our realm. Having traveled to the Imperial Court and having received a decree from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, who asks us to provide you with livelihood and land in our domain, we hereby grant you the district of Lori and its fortress with all the subjects within its borders. However, since this district was originally granted to Shamir Aqa, should the son or grandson of the late Shamir Aqa appear, they shall have precedence over you and you will be given another district. If they do not present themselves, then you are free to control it forever. We also grant you the right to rule over the Armenian inhabitants who previously populated the district of Dizak in Karabagh [and who have settled in Lori]. We order our *vekil-vezir* (chancellor) and our administrators to obey our decree and to aid you in every way possible.

## 27

*Tsar Paul to Ambassador Tamara*<sup>1</sup>  
(16 March 1800)<sup>2</sup>

Make sure that in the upcoming election of the Catholicos of All Armenians, the Porte<sup>3</sup> does not go against the wishes of the Armenian nation and elect someone who is not worthy of that position; someone who manages to receive the throne and robes of the leader of the Armenians through intrigues and bribery. I suggest that you explain, in a friendly manner, our position to the Turkish ministry.<sup>4</sup>

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ing the full annexation of Georgia. By 1804 the royal family had either been sent to Russia or had fled to Persia.

<sup>1</sup> Vasilii Stepanovich Tamara was, until 1803, the Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. He supported Archbishop Dawit' during the election controversy that followed the death of catholicos-elect Hovsēp'.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1780-1801), file 184, f. 26.

<sup>3</sup> The official residence of the grand vizier and the seat of the Ottoman government in Constantinople was called *Bab Ali*, translated as Sublime Porte or simply Porte.

<sup>4</sup> Either Paul was not aware that Hovsēp' was elected by the Synod, or, more likely, he anticipated objections from the Ottomans.

## 28

*A Report by Counselor Lashkarev*(1800)<sup>1</sup>

Distinguished Armenian citizens of Constantinople have written letters to Archbishop Hovsēp' in which they inform him that certain unworthy individuals are trying to claim the Araratian patriarchal throne [the catholicosate] and that he should take measures, through our representative at the ministry, to stop these actions. The Ottoman Porte, out of self-interest, and the vizier, who has been bribed, do not wish to confirm this election, which was decided by the majority of the Armenian people living in Turkey, Persia, Georgia, and Russia. The Ottomans, despite the election, can, without consultation, issue a decree of confirmation for the candidate who suits their policy and who will carry out their agenda. It has to be made clear to the Porte that the Russian Imperial Court, as well as Georgia, also has a distinct right to confirm the choice of catholicos. Traditionally, Etchmiadzin elects a catholicos and the neighboring states confirm it through decrees. I consider it my duty to ask if it would not be useful if our esteemed ministry would instruct our representative at Constantinople, Tamara, to press for the wishes of the Armenian people. [It has to be made clear to the Porte that] to confirm someone who is not even a legitimate candidate would be harmful to the Porte's relations with us. Such an action would, undoubtedly, lead the Porte to consider the Armenians of Ararat as citizens of the Ottoman Empire. It has to be stated to them that the Georgian king has far more rights in the Ararat region than the Turks or the Persians. Etchmiadzin was always partly subject to the Georgian king, who in turn has always protected it in word and deed from various Muslim khans.<sup>2</sup> I think that it would be advantageous to send confidential notes, by speedy state messengers, to Tamara, our representative Kovalenskii, and the archbishop here

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<sup>1</sup> The report was written sometime in the summer. *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1780-1801), file 184, ff. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> The above claim is only valid for the reign of Erekle II.

[Grigoriopol']. At Archbishop Hovsēp's request, we should permit him to send his assistant<sup>1</sup> to Georgia to prepare for his installation.

## 29

*King Giorgi XII to Melik Abov*(1 June 1800)<sup>2</sup>

We decree that Melik Abov establish himself in the settlement of Akhkorpi,<sup>3</sup> to guard the surrounding area from attack, and to assure the secure passage of caravans which pass through this post. In exchange for his services we grant Melik Abov the right to collect from each animal carrying goods, except for salt and honey, one ruble.<sup>4</sup> Those residing in our domains of Kazakh, Kakhet'i, K'art'li, Aragvi, and Tiflis, should likewise pay these dues for their safe escort....<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The assistant in question was Grigor Zak'arean, the prior-abbot of the Armenian monastery at Grigoriopol', who hoped to take Hovsēp's place as Prelate of the Armenians in Russia, for further details on the activities of Grigor, see documents 41-46.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1801), file 6, folio 60.

<sup>3</sup> The village of Akhkorpi was located in the Borchalu district. It bordered the khannate of Erevan.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that the Georgian king was granting income in payment for service, which was similar to the *tīyūl*, *timar*, *iqta'*, or *soyūrğāl* granted by Persian and Ottoman rulers from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1800 King Giorgi's envoys arrived in St. Petersburg to discuss the terms which would place eastern Georgia under the authority of Russia. The news of this action, as well as the village granted to Melik Abov, encouraged other Armenians from Karabagh, who had fled their districts and had sought refuge in Erevan, to appeal to the Georgian king, as well as to the Russian envoy in Tiflis, Peter Kovalenskii, to allow them to move into Georgian territory and come under Russian protection. Four documents written during August and September of 1800 by Melik Jamshid, as well as by Armenians from other districts in Karabagh, clearly demonstrate that these Armenian leaders hoped, with Russian help, to reestablish their power, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1800), file 12, folios 160-161, 163, 167. Georgian officials did not always welcome the Armenian intrusion into their districts, see *ibid.*, folio 158. Another document, dated 1801, gave Melik Abov the title of *caravan-bāšī* and ordered all border guards to obey him, *ibid.*, file 6, f. 62. On 6 October 1800, Lazarev wrote to Knorring that Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan had attacked Melik Abov's men in the region of Shuragol, on the Turkish border. He added that Shuragol was part of historic Armenia and had belonged to Erekle, who had given it as a gift to the khan of Erevan when the latter had submitted to him, *AKAK*, I (doc. 83), 158.



## 30

*Hovsēp' Argutinskii to Counselor Lashkarev*(12 July 1800)<sup>1</sup>

I have had the fortune to receive Your Excellency's letter as well as the enclosed copies of the letter of Tamara and Archbishop Dawit'. I thank you for your generous concern and support in my affairs. I am now convinced that Archbishop Dawit' has [inadvertently] damaged our cause and I hope that he will change his behavior in the future.

I have the honor to inform you that on 15 June, I received news from St. Petersburg that the sultan's decree and the acceptance of the Armenian community has already been presented to our envoy, Vasilii Stepanovich Tamara, who will send the original via Archbishop Dawit' to Ararat. Copies are to be sent to our Collegium in St. Petersburg and to me. Unfortunately, I have not yet received a copy and request that Your Excellency send me a copy when you receive it. I am soon leaving for [New] Nakhichevan,<sup>2</sup> to visit the deputies that the Armenian community has sent there. I shall stay there for three days and will then proceed to Astrakhan, where I shall await His Majesty's decree....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3, file 463, ff. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> New Nakhichevan is meant here. The letter was sent from Moscow.

<sup>3</sup> Tsar Paul's decree confirming Hovsēp' as the new Armenian catholicos was issued on 28 July, *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/4 (1800), file 13, f. 1. On 30 October, Paul ordered that Hovsēp' receive a lifetime pension, plus 1,000 rubles for his trip to Armenia. He also ordered Knorring and King Giorgi and all other officials to pay utmost respect to and escort the new catholicos to Tiflis and then to the borders of Persia, *ibid.*, f. 3.

## 31

*Giorgi Tsitsishvili<sup>1</sup> to the Pambak Elders*  
(1800)<sup>2</sup>

It is the wish of His Majesty that you gather all the Armenian arrivals from Erevan. Those from Karabagh and Ganja should be handed to Melik Abov, while those [originally] from Erevan should remain with you. I order you to follow these instructions the moment you receive them and carry them out without hesitation....

## 32

*Mohammad Khan of Erevan to Peter Kovalenskii*  
(1800)<sup>3</sup>

We have had friendly relations with the kingdom of Georgia for a long time. When Lesghians invaded Georgia, their subjects sought refuge in our domain and we assisted them until they were ready to return. Even when the shah of Persia tried to cross our region to invade Georgia, we did not cooperate and suffered accordingly. I do not think that any other people or any other religion would have acted so humanely....During our recent difficulties we sent our subjects to you, but Sardar Gogia Beg,<sup>4</sup> instead of showing hospitality, took money and divided the Armenians of Karabagh [who had sought refuge in Erevan] among Melik Abov and other meliks, to settle in Georgia. A large part of the emigrants are citizens of Erevan and we had given them special privileges, but Gogia Beg seeks to empty our domains and populate his own land. He does not realize that we need these people to defend our land, which in turn will defend Georgia. The Armenians have cost me great expense. I bought grain for one ruble per liter to feed them and to save them from hunger. They owe me their allegiance. If they do not return I will sever the chain of our alli-

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<sup>1</sup> Giorgi Tsitsishvili was the *mourav* (governor or king's steward) and military commander (*sardar*) of Pambak. The *mouravi*, generally feudal nobility, were granted fiefs by the Georgian kings.

<sup>2</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2 (1800), file 12, ff. 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 99-100; a similar letter is in AKAK, I (doc. 833), 615-616.

<sup>4</sup> Refers to Giorgi Tsitsishvili.

ance, an act Your Excellency does not wish. You should order the meliks to send every Armenian back, otherwise you are to blame for the end of our friendship. I am writing this letter personally to you so that you will resolve this problem and resume our warm relations....

## 33

*General Lazarev<sup>1</sup> to General Knorring<sup>2</sup>*(6 October 1800)<sup>3</sup>

Melik Abov, who is a subject of and under the protection of Russia, has requested that I permit him to receive 1,000 Armenian families from Akhaltsikhe, who wish to relocate to his domain within our borders. He claims that troubled times will force the Armenians to make their move [even without my permission]. I feel the situation to be dubious and since I am new and have little experience in such matters, am not connected to our mission here, and have received no information from Kovalenskii, I have good reason to write and ask your instructions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Major General Ivan Petrovich Lazarev, a member of the wealthy and influential Russian Armenian family, was appointed as the commander of the Russian troops in Tiflis in 1799. On 3 August 1800, Lazarev, by imperial decree, became the senior Russian representative to the Georgian court. Upon the death of Giorgi XII, Lazarev, together with Ioane, the younger son of Giorgi, temporarily assumed control of Tiflis as regents. Lazarev remained as the second in command in Tiflis until 18 April 1803, when he was killed by the queen of Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant General Karl Fedorovich Knorring II served as a commander of the Russian forces in the Caucasus. In late 1799 he was named administrator in chief of the Caucasian Line and was one of the architects of the annexation of eastern Georgia to Russia. In 1802 he came to Tiflis as the governor-general, and together with Kovalenskii and Lazarev, curtailed the power of the Georgian dynasty. Due to complaints by the Georgian royal family, he was replaced by General Tsitsianov at the end of 1802.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 878) 637.

<sup>4</sup> Akhaltsikhe was under the jurisdiction of the pasha of Kars, a friend of the Russian mission in Georgia. Knorring responded on 16 December, stating that Kovalenskii had informed Lazarev of His Majesty's wish regarding the meliks in his (see document 16) overall instructions concerning Georgia.

## 34

*Tsar Paul to General Knorring*(30 October, 1800)<sup>1</sup>

We hereby declare that since it is the wish of the entire Armenian nation that he assume the position of their catholicos, we confirm the election of the most gracious Armenian archbishop, Prince Argutinskii-Dolgorukii [Hovsēp'] and release him from Our court, to proceed to Ararat. We order that a proper escort, under the command of a senior Cossack officer, be made available for his journey to Tiflis. The officer in charge is to act as his bodyguard. After delivering the catholicos to the king of Georgia, the said officer should return to your service.<sup>2</sup>

## 35

*From the Diary of Peter Kovalenskii*(August-October 1800)<sup>3</sup>

*Kars.* South of the Turko-Georgian border is the fortress of Kars under the control of Ne'man Pasha, who is in charge of the region between Akhaltsikhe and Bayazid. Although I had good relations with him, no permanent agreements were made. Under this pasha, right on the Georgian border, rules a certain 'Alī Bey, an enterprising and rapacious man. He is the same person who gave refuge to the renegade Prince Alexander<sup>4</sup> and aided him to proceed [to Persia], despite the fact that 'Alī Bey had received my instructions to detain him.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 657), 538. On the same day Paul wrote to Argutinskii, detailing his instructions to Knorring, *SAAN*, I, 243.

<sup>2</sup> Although Georgian envoys had been in St. Petersburg since August, discussing the terms of placing eastern Georgia under the authority of Russia, the annexation manifesto was not signed until 18 December (it was published in Tiflis only on 16 February 1801). At the time of the writing of this letter, Georgia was still an autonomous state and the Russian escort, upon completion of its task, had to return to the boundaries of Russia.

<sup>3</sup> Condensed from *AKAK*, I (doc. 34), 111-124; also in *Kavkazskii Kalendar'* 1864 (Tiflis, 1863), 183-212.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander, a son of King Erekle II, was extremely anti-Russian and fled to Persia in 1800. He joined the Persian army and fought the Russians in a number of battles

*Bayazid.* The pasha of Bayazid does not have a common border with Georgia, but neighbors Azerbaijan and Qoi provinces and thus is involved in the affairs of Persia, especially since he has marital ties with the khan of Qoi, Ĵa'far-qolī.<sup>1</sup>

All the Turkish border governors, being far away from the capital and inheriting their position, rule as independent princes.

*Erevan.* The province borders Turkey. The ruler of Erevan, Moḥammad Khan, is a middle-aged man of short stature. Due to his moderation he is loved by his subjects, especially the Armenians, whom he treats well and who compose most of his fortress's garrison during its last siege by the Persians. The province is located by the Arax River and although small is prosperous. The population is primarily Armenian,<sup>2</sup> and they are good farmers, especially in the production of cotton. Their activities in various professions and trade gives the khan a good income. The fortress of Erevan is famed in these parts as the best in both natural and manmade attributes. Its garrison has a good reputation and its walls possess numerous guns, left by the Turks when they were in control of the fortress. Moḥammad Khan's dependence on Persia began when, due to his weak position, he broke his alliance with the late King Erekle and submitted to Āḡā Moḥammad Khan, during Āḡā Moḥammad's destruction of Georgia. Not only was the khan of Erevan robbed of most of his possessions and reduced to poverty, but he had to submit close relatives as hostages, some of whom are still being held. Bābā Khan, upon taking power, has also demanded tribute and is receiving 100,000 rubles or more (the exact sum is unknown) annually from Erevan. Bābā Khan,

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during the Russo-Persian wars. His major threat to Russia came in 1826 when the Persians attacked without warning and Alexander advanced toward Tiflis. The Armenian volunteers, together with Russian troops, commanded by Prince Madatov, stopped him at the battle of Shamkhor. Alexander had married the daughter of Melik Sahak Aghamalean of Erevan. He died in Persia in 1844.

<sup>1</sup> Khan of Qoi (to 1804), Ĵa'far switched sides in December 1806 and was appointed khan of Sheki by the Russians. In 1807 he was given the rank of lieutenant general. His anti-Armenian sentiments resulted in a number of petitions (see doc. 185) against him. He died in 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Although a large number of Armenians left Erevan in 1804-1805, Kovalenskii exaggerates the number of Armenians in Erevan during this period.

in his attempts to subdue Georgia, has also tried to drive Moḥammad Khan out of Erevan and take over the fortress. Moḥammad Khan informed Bābā Khan that he would assist him in his campaign against Georgia, but he would not surrender the fortress. Although the Persian army besieged Erevan, Moḥammad Khan managed to repulse them and inflict damage. As far as relations between the Erevan province and Georgia, the former was subject to the latter during the rule of King Erekle and paid an annual tribute to him in exchange for Georgian protection against enemies. The khan of Karabagh also paid tribute to Erekle in exchange for his military aid in time of trouble. Later, when King Erekle, in his old age, had lost his power and could not even defend his own domain, the alliance fell apart. In recent years, Moḥammad Khan, due to the great respect he had for the late Georgian king, has sent gifts to the present Georgian monarch. He did more than any other neighbor to sustain friendly relations, an action which brought the wrath of Persia upon him. My own relations with the khan are very friendly. He not only shows great respect to me but indicates in his letters that he wishes to be under the protection of the Russian Empire. However, he indicates that he does not want to be subject to Georgia. The main problem is the misunderstanding between Georgia and Erevan over Shuragol, a border district which historically belonged to Erevan but has changed hands in the past and has caused friction among these neighboring states.<sup>1</sup>

Moḥammad Khan has written to the Georgian king and to me complaining about the action of the Georgians in this border region. I tried, until my departure, to convince the king to make some agreement, but failed.

Kalb 'Alī Khan,<sup>2</sup> the former khan of Nakhichevan, who was blinded and removed from his post by Āḡā Moḥammad Khan during

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<sup>1</sup> The khan of Erevan claimed Shuragol and parts of Pambak and Lori to be within the borders of his khanate. Russian officials saw it as part of Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> Kalb 'Alī Khan was a relative of Moḥammad Khan of Erevan. Although he belonged to the Qajar clan, both khans were punished by Āḡā Moḥammad Shah Qajar, who, hearing that the two had corresponded with the Russians, exiled Moḥammad Khan and blinded Kalb 'Alī Khan. After the murder of the shah in 1797 the two assumed their former positions. Since his territory was situated on the border of Iran and the Ottoman Empire, Kalb 'Alī was frequently courted by the Russians and the Turks.

his march on Georgia, lives in Erevan under the protection of Moḥammad Khan. He is well known for his bravery, daring, and temper, as well as for his bombastic style. He is a relative of Moḥammad Khan's and has a strong influence over him. It was he who caused last month's clash between the troops of Erevan and Georgia, probably without the approval of Moḥammad Khan. Of the Armenian officials who serve the khan, the most trusted is Gabriēl Yüzbaşı, a very upright man, and Melik Abraham, the head of the Armenians of Erevan, who, because of his age is respected by both the khan and the Armenians. I have had correspondence with him and can say without a doubt that he and all the Armenians have a great attachment to Russia.

*Ararat.* Near Erevan is the Supreme Patriarchate of the Armenians, the Araratian monastery of Etchmiadzin, where the Synod, or elder members of the Church, reside. The patriarch, or the catholicos, is the supreme head of the Armenian Church on earth, which gives him great power over his people. Since the death of Catholicos Ghukas, the former Armenian Archbishop in Russia, Hovsēp', has been elected to fill the throne. I was discreetly involved in that election. Various intrigues, however, have hampered a smooth transition, and unkind opinions about him have been circulated a number of times by the Synod. The location of the Holy See requires that for the sake of his people the head of the Armenian Church act carefully to maneuver politically between the tyrants who surround his flock. This is especially important for Hovsēp', whose devotion to Russia is well known. It may be very difficult for the Persians to accept him in the long run.

*Ḳoi.* The ruler of Ḳoi, Ĵa'far-qolī Khan, used to control the entire province, which borders the region of Bayazid in Turkey. Last year, however, he was overthrown by Bābā Khan and, with some of his followers, sought refuge in Georgia and demanded reinforcements which he claimed had been promised to him. He soon left Georgia and through marriage allied himself with the pasha of Bayazid. He received reinforcements from him, in the form of Kurds who are not

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He was especially respected and feared by the pasha of Bayazid, whose territory was only a short distance west of Nakhichevan. He was eventually forced to settle in Persia.

subject to Persia or Turkey, and with their help occupied Mākū. He is still there, the only place he firmly controls, hoping that he will eventually regain his entire domain, which is given to Pīr-qolī Khan, a mild man, by Bābā Khan.

*Ganja.* The ruler of Ganja, Jāvād Khan,<sup>1</sup> a man of fifty of the Qajar family, is a crafty and sharp man whose word cannot be trusted. During the war with Persia he surrendered his fortress and sought the protection of the Russian Empire without hesitation. He is seen as one of those who guided Āgā Moḥammad Khan to Georgia and he is still hated for that. When I arrived in Georgia he was the first to send me a message of congratulations, assuring me of his devotion to Russia. I had friendly but cautious relations with him--due to his reputation and past actions. When the Persian forces under 'Abbās Mīrzā<sup>2</sup> approached his domain he feigned submission, but, although he has accepted Bābā Khan as his overlord, he has not abandoned his reliance on Russia, provided that we do not favor Georgia in his border dispute. He has petitioned me in that regard and I have spoken to the king. Certain items have been resolved but others remain.<sup>3</sup>

*Karabagh.* The ruler of Karabagh, Ebrāhīm Khan, is an old and wise man. He succeeded his father, who had ruled the territory together with the Armenian meliks, who had autonomy there from ancient times. He managed through cunning and force to dispossess them. He had a long and firm alliance with King Erekle. He managed to resist Āgā Moḥammad Khan when the latter besieged his fortress of Shushi. For that, he gained the respect of the Persians as well as the Russians. During the advance of our forces he gave signs that he was willing to come under the protection of the Russian Empire. When our

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<sup>1</sup> Jāvād Khan Qajar was the last khan of Ganja. He refused to bow to Tsitsianov's demands and was killed in the storming of Ganja by the Russians in 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Second son and heir of Fath 'Alī Shah (d. 1833). A brave soldier, who sought to modernize the Persian army, he was the commander of the Persian armies during the first and second Russo-Persian wars. His son, Moḥammad, became shah after the death of Fath 'Alī Shah in 1834.

<sup>3</sup> Jāvād Khan claimed Kazakh and Shamshadil (Shamshadin or Šams al-dīn) as part of Ganja; the Russians saw it as part of Georgia.



forces departed he was left in a shaky position, and during the Persian incursion he was forced to let those prominent Armenians who were unarmed or who could not be brought into the fortress leave Karabagh for Georgia. He hoped that they would return, but not only did they remain there but others, under the leadership of their meliks, left Karabagh for Ganja and Georgia, where they now reside. His past actions forced him to come to terms with Bābā Khan and he has been received with great respect and favor. Bābā Khan has asked to marry one of his daughters,<sup>1</sup> who is well known for her beauty and intelligence. Ebrāhīm Khan did not come to a decision right away. First, his neighbor, Moṣṭafā Khan of Shirvan,<sup>2</sup> had asked for an alliance and the hand of the same daughter. Second, the arrival of the Russian troops in Georgia renewed his interest in the Russian protection, and he sent discreet messages to me to that effect. I could not, however, give him any concrete assurances and suggested that he send an envoy to seek His Imperial Majesty's protection. Although the khan did not state this officially, his concern was the Russian favoritism towards Georgia. In any case, eventually he gave in to the pressure from Bābā Khan and sent his daughter to him, accepted gifts and the post of khan of Karabagh, and welcomed the Persian forces of 'Abbās Mīrzā to his domain. Our correspondence ceased after that, especially since he has made it possible for Prince Alexander, who was with 'Abbās Mīrzā in Tabriz, to pass through his territory and join 'Omar Khan<sup>3</sup> of the Lesghians (whose sister is a wife of Ebrāhīm Khan) to raid Georgia. He is especially angry with Georgia, for many of his former subjects reside there at present.<sup>4</sup> His fortress of Shushi is refurbished and is a formidable bastion.

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to Aqa Begum, daughter of Tūṭī Begum of Ganja.

<sup>2</sup> The khan of Shirvan accepted Russian suzerainty in 1806, In 1820 he fled to Persia and his khanate was annexed to Russia. He later returned to Russia and died in 1835 in Elisavetpol'.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgians, for some time, had paid 'Omar Khan of Avaria tribute not to raid their territory. The khan convinced the Russians of his peaceful intentions, but, together with Prince Alexander of Georgia, planned to invade Georgia. He was defeated by Generals Lazarev and Guliakov and Princes Ioane and Bagrat and died at the end of 1800.

<sup>4</sup> The khan feared that the meliks, with Russian help, would reestablish their control over mountainous Karabagh.

*Meliks of Karabagh.* The Armenian meliks who are currently in Georgia are: Melik Jamshid, son of Melik Shahnazar; Melik Abov, son of Melik Hovsēp'; and Melik Fīreydun, son of Melik Beglar. They ruled the five melikdoms of Karabagh whose ancestors had remained autonomous after the fall of the Armenian kingdom. They remained independent until recent times, when the father of the present khan of Karabagh made inroads into their domains, and eventually they were thrown out of their lands [by Ebrāhīm Khan].

The meliks abandoned their homes and together with a fourth melik, Mejlum, sought refuge in Georgia. Melik Abov and Melik Mejlum, following the invasion of Georgia by Āḡā Moḥammad Khan, sought refuge with King Erekle. Melik Mejlum died, and his young son and followers moved to Ganja. Melik Abov remained in Georgia and tried to gather his followers around him at the time when Meliks Jamshid and Fīreydun left for the Imperial Court, where they presented their petition from all five meliks to become subjects of Russia and to settle either in Russia or in Georgia. Their petitions were accepted and decrees to that effect were given to them and sent to the Georgian king. I met with Melik Abov and was instrumental in his loyalty oath to Russia. I also arranged that His Majesty bestow a medal on him. He is loyal and has proven his devotion numerous times. He has gathered his followers, some 400 families, and can muster a good fighting force of some 300 men in time of need. Melik Jamshid and Melik Fīreydun have 100 families each. The Georgian king has given the former the fortress of Lori and the surrounding villages. I was planning to unite the meliks and make Melik Jamshid, the eldest, their spokesmen and arbiter in disputes. But the animosity of the two other meliks for Melik Abov has foiled my plan.

## 36

*General Knorring to General Lazarev*(8 January 1801)<sup>1</sup>

It is the wish of His Imperial Majesty that His Holiness, the Armenian Catholicos Hovsēp', be safely transported to Tiflis. I, therefore, have assigned an escort of one hundred Cossacks, under the command of Captain Savel'ev, officer of the cavalry, and have prepared all the other necessary arrangements. Catholicos Hovsēp' has presented me with a copy of the edict of His Majesty, written on 30th day of last October, and addressed to the late Georgian king, Giorgi. It states:

*To His Highness, King of K'art'li-Kakhet'i, Giorgi, son of Erekle. Due to the fact that the Armenian nation has elected our former Archbishop, Hovsēp', Prince Argutinskii-Dolgoruki, We most graciously confirm him in his position and have ordered Our Lieutenant General Knorring, to provide a suitable convoy for his journey to Tiflis. We ask that upon arrival in your domain, your highness accord him proper hospitality, and provide the necessary security and escort, befitting his position, to reach his destination [in Ararat]. You should note that Hovsēp' was an archbishop in Our Empire.*

I order that you impress upon the Georgian court their obligation to carry out all the wishes of His Majesty, expressed in His formal letter to the late King Giorgi. I also request that you yourself show the utmost respect to the catholicos. After performing his duties, Captain Savel'ev and his troops must return here.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 658), 538.

## 37

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*  
(12 January 1801)<sup>1</sup>

Meliks Jamshid and Fireydun had received permission from His Highness to relocate their subjects from Karabagh. Meliks from two other districts were also granted that privilege, one of whom was Melik Abov. The latter, being bolder than the others, removed families belonging to Melik Fireydun and Melik Alaverdi and brought them into his care. The first melik, being very modest, did not complain, but the second one, whose uncle is the bishop of Tiflis, filed suit and petitioned the Georgian king. The king asked Melik Abov to return the subjects not belonging to him. However, since His Excellency Kovalevskii, had given a commendation to Melik Abov, during his stay here, the latter refused to act and the king asked me to intervene. I begged His Majesty not to involve me in the dispute. Before the matter was settled, however, the king passed away.

## 38

*Tsar Paul to General Knorring*  
(23 January 1801)<sup>2</sup>

Try to govern Georgia by the principles which were communicated to you. Do not seek any new controls, since they have voluntarily come to Us. It is better to have allies who are loyal than disloyal subjects. Your left flank is secure; try not to alarm the Turks and your right flank will be secure as well. Find Armenians who are interested in trade and attract them to settle. Give them privileges, but establish Our regulations. Increase your ranks by adding new recruits. See if you can increase the local inhabitants and thus increase income. Look for various minerals and collect custom dues on the borders. Do not occupy

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 880), 637-638.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 522), 417.

yourself with conquests; rather try to bring Armenia<sup>1</sup> voluntarily to Us.

## 39

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*  
(2 February 1801)<sup>2</sup>

His highness Prince Ioane has forwarded me a letter which he has received. Having translated the letter, which was in Armenian,<sup>3</sup> into Georgian, I have learned the following facts. The brothers of the Georgian king<sup>4</sup> have sent their messengers to Bābā Khan, who has received them in Tabriz. The letter also states that a French envoy has for some time been staying with Bābā Khan. It seems the French desire to use the port of Bandar 'Abbās.<sup>5</sup> Although the information in this letter may prove unreliable, I am forwarding it to Your Excellency.

## 40

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*  
(11 February 1801)<sup>6</sup>

His Holiness, Hovsēp', the Armenian catholicos, arrived in Tiflis yesterday. He was greeted at the village of Kuki by His Highness Prince Ioane and other high-ranking Georgian nobles. Following a cannonade, he was welcomed at the gates by the entire [Armenian and Georgian] religious hierarchy, dressed in their formal robes. Upon reaching

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<sup>1</sup> Although historic eastern Armenia was under Muslim rule, Paul, either for political reasons or because he truly believed it, called it Armenia.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1801), file 6, f. 126.

<sup>3</sup> The letter was sent by an Armenian informant.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Alexander had fled to Persia, but his brothers Yulon, Wakhtang, and P'arnavaz and their mother Darejan (the widow of Erekle II), who had remained in Tiflis, were under Russian surveillance. Having failed to incite a rebellion in July 1800, they continued their intrigues.

<sup>5</sup> The French overtures to Persia began in 1799, as reported by John Malcolm, who was serving in India at the time, D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832* (New York, 1957), p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 659), 538.

the first [Armenian] church, the catholicos entered and prayed for the health and long life of His Imperial Majesty. He then gave an appropriate speech [i.e., pro-Russian] to the Armenian crowd. In conclusion, I inform you that I, together with Major General Guliakov and a number of other officers, presented ourselves to the catholicos when he approached the village of Kuki.<sup>1</sup>

## 41

*General Lazarev to Vardapet<sup>2</sup> Grigor<sup>3</sup>*  
(24 February 1801)<sup>4</sup>

Since Georgia has become part of the Russian Empire, Lieutenant General Knorring has instructed that I obtain certain information about the Armenian religious hierarchy that resides here. As you are the assistant of the Catholicos of All the Armenians, I request that you favor me with an answer to the following questions:

1) The number of Armenian dioceses in Georgia; the hierarchy in these institutions; who is the senior authority, and to whom does he answer?

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<sup>1</sup> Hovsēp' was in Tiflis when Tsar Paul's manifesto about the incorporation of eastern Georgia was announced. On 18 February, Lazarev reported to Knorring that on 17 February, a day after its publication, the Armenians of Tiflis gathered in their cathedral, where the catholicos-elect, in a great ceremony, read the manifesto and had it posted on the wall of the cathedral. This act did not endear the Armenians to some Georgians, *AKAK*, I (doc. 528), 416.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to as archmandrite in the Russian text. Russian religious titles are often inaccurate when referring to Armenian clergy. The Armenian Church has two types of clerics: married clergy and celibate priests. Parish priests and members of a Church council are members of the married clergy. The celibate priests, usually trained in a monastery, include graduates from theological seminaries (*vardapets*, prelates (*arajnord*), bishops and archbishops, patriarchs, and supreme patriarch (catholicos). Grigor was a *vardapet*, archmandrite is the closest Russian equivalent. For more details, see M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (New York, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> Grigor Zakhareants (Zak'arean), a student of Hovsēp', was the abbot of the Armenian monastery in Bessarabia. Like Archbishop Hovsēp', he was committed to advancing Russian interests in Transcaucasia. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 (probably as chaplain for the Armenian volunteers) and was decorated for his services. He died in 1828.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, I (docs. 660-661), 538-539.

- 2) How many monasteries, convents, and churches are there in each diocese? How does the religious hierarchy in these institutions sustain itself?
- 3) Does the hierarchy have a legal body, an archpriest or senior cleric, who can judge offenders? Who are the members of these tribunals? Who is responsible for the pay of the lay members working in these institutions?
- 4) In civil cases, are the clergy judged by religious or civil authorities?
- 5) Does the entire religious community vote to admit a new member, or is it decided by a few priests; are new candidates nominated and elected by parishioners or by the religious leader?
- 6) Do the dioceses have any religious schools; if so, where are they located, what do they teach, and how do they maintain themselves?

*Response from Grigor (no date)*

1) The Armenian Church leaders residing in the various districts of Georgia have informed me that there are currently three archdioceses here. The first is under the administration of Etchmiadzin, the second under Haghpat, and the third under Sanahin.<sup>1</sup> All three are under the supervision of archbishops. Archbishop Martiros, the head of the first, died recently, and a new archbishop will be soon named by the catholicos. Archbishop Sargis heads the second,<sup>2</sup> and Archbishop Arak'el the third. The bishops, priests, and other Church functionaries are all subject to the archbishop of their particular archdiocese. They are all, however, under the rule of Catholicos Hovsēp'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the late 18th century, King Erekle had managed to wrest the monasteries of Haghpat and Sanahin, as well as the rest of the Armenian district of Lori (see map), from the khan of Erevan. Following the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia, the district remained part of Georgia. It became a bone of contention from 1918-1920 between the then-independent Armenian and Georgian republics. Part of the region was eventually included in Soviet Armenia and is in Armenia today.

<sup>2</sup> Sargis Hasan Jalaleants', catholicos of Aghuank' from 1810 to 1815. In 1799 he fled Karabagh and was appointed the head of Haghpat Monastery. He clashed with the Armenian archbishop of Tiflis, as well as with Etchmiadzin, see documents 52 and 110 in text.

<sup>3</sup> Catholicos-elect Hovsēp' was still in Tiflis. He was awaiting a delegation from Etchmiadzin, which was probably being delayed by the anti-Russian faction.

2) The first archdiocese has two monasteries and one convent. The second, four monasteries, and the third, seven. There are fifteen large churches and 124 parish churches.<sup>1</sup> The priests, monasteries, and Church functionaries of all of the above are supported by benevolent gifts.<sup>2</sup>

3) There is one ecclesiastical court in Tiflis, composed of four senior priests, two deacons, and two church elders. They are appointed by the catholicos and are responsible to him in all matters. There is no other ecclesiastical court in the region. The judges simply decide on individual cases on an *ad hoc* basis--to the best of their ability, taking the wishes of the religious and lay members of the community into consideration. Outside the settled communities, the local archpriests pass judgment. All judgments are oral and not recorded.

4) In civil cases the clergy are judged by ecclesiastical courts.

5) The appointment of priests is decided by all members of the community. The catholicos and higher clergy, however, are elected by the religious leadership.<sup>3</sup>

6) There is only one school in Georgia that is administered by the Church. That is the grammar school in Tiflis, attached to the Moghni Church. Children study Armenian and Georgian. The teachers are paid by the parents of the students.

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<sup>1</sup> The large number of churches clearly indicates the presence of a significant Armenian community in eastern Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that unlike the situation in Erevan, where the Muslims had permitted the Armenian Church to possess *waqfs* (religious endowments generally held in the form of property), the Armenian Church in Georgia did not possess large landholdings and had to rely on donations.

<sup>3</sup> Although some lay members of the Armenian community in Erevan and Constantinople (especially minor nobles, wealthy merchants, landlords, or public officials) had a voice in the election of the catholicos, the Etchmiadzin brotherhood played a crucial role in the nomination and election of candidates. The Etchmiadzin hierarchy was also in charge of the preparation of the holy chrism (*murōn*), which was used in all baptisms and other sacraments.



## 42

*General Knorring's Report to the Imperial Court*<sup>1</sup>  
(18 March 1801)<sup>2</sup>

Major General Lazarev informs me that the Armenian catholicos, Hovsēp', who was afflicted by fever for nine days, passed away in Tiflis on 9 March. Prelate Grigor, who was by his side, informs me that Hovsēp', who until the very end possessed a clear mind, has appointed him as his executor. Hovsēp' has willed his money and property to the Church and to his nephews, the princes Argutinskii-Dolgorukii.<sup>3</sup> He has also entrusted the Diocese of the Armenian Church in Russia to Grigor, with the request that your Imperial Highness confirm him in that position. He has designated as acting catholicos either the patriarch of Constantinople, Hovhannēs,<sup>4</sup> whose diligence is well-known to Your Majesty, or Archbishop Dawit', the senior cleric at Etchmiadzin. It was Hovsēp''s wish that he be buried at Etchmiadzin. Grigor is awaiting Your Imperial Majesty's permission and decision in these matters.

## 43

*Vardapet Grigor to General Knorring*  
(29 March 1801)<sup>5</sup>

After the death of Catholicos Hovsēp', I forwarded to Etchmiadzin his last will and testament....I have just received a letter from Archbishop Dawit' at Etchmiadzin, in which he states that his nomination to the position of acting catholicos has been opposed by a certain faction at the Holy See. Patriarch Hovhannēs has also been overlooked. Instead

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<sup>1</sup> The report was sent to Tsar Paul, who had been murdered a week earlier. The Russian command of the Caucasus was obviously not aware of this fact, since it took longer than a week for a courier to travel from St. Petersburg to the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 662), 539.

<sup>3</sup> Refers to Prince Solomon and Prince Vasilii Argutinskii.

<sup>4</sup> Hovhannēs XI of Baiburt (1800-1801 and 1802-1813).

<sup>5</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 664), 540-541.

they have chosen Daniël, the previous patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> As I gave my word to keep you informed, I am sending you a Georgian translation of Dawit's letter, the original of which is in Armenian. I request that you have it translated into Russian and dispatch it to his Imperial Majesty....After all, the wishes of Catholicos Hovsēp' are being ignored by an opposing faction led by the melik of Erevan,<sup>2</sup> the Armenian yüzbaşı,<sup>3</sup> and their supporters. If they succeed, Daniël, who is in the Turkish city of Tokat,<sup>4</sup> will be ordained catholicos and all the plans of the late catholicos would be ruined. Archbishop Daniël, as is already clear to your minister, does not have the same devotion to the Russian Court as does Archbishop Dawit'--the [primary] reason that the late catholicos nominated Dawit' to succeed him....I have written to the khan of Erevan, who is eager for Russian protection. I have asked that the commander of the Russian forces in Georgia also write to the khan of Erevan, but he has refused,<sup>5</sup> forcing me to send my own request to the khan. All my hopes and our future destiny are at stake....<sup>6</sup>

## 44

*Armenian Archbishops to General Knorring*  
(9 April 1801)<sup>7</sup>

Your Excellency, General and Military Governor Karl Fedorovich.  
We first wish to congratulate you on the occasion of the Emperor's coronation, may the King of Kings, the Lord Himself, protect Him!

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<sup>1</sup> Daniël of Surmari was chosen catholicos in 1801, but did not serve in that position. His seat was usurped by Dawit', who was acknowledged as catholicos by the Persians until 1807. Daniël assumed the post only in 1807, but died a year later, see relevant documents in text.

<sup>2</sup> Melik Abraham Aghamalean; see document 24.

<sup>3</sup> Gabriël Geghamean; see document 24.

<sup>4</sup> Located on a major trade route, Tokat was a town and a *sanjak* in the *vilayet* of Sivas (previously part of *vilayet* of Rum) located northwest of Sivas and southeast of Amasya.

<sup>5</sup> Lazarev did not trust Grigor's motives; future events justified his mistrust.

<sup>6</sup> On 7 April 1801, AKAK, I (doc. 665), 541, Knorring reported these details to Tsar Alexander.

<sup>7</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, (1801), file 6164/15, ff. 52-55.

Your Excellency, after the conclusion of the Church assembly at Etchmiadzin, we came to Tiflis to greet Hovsēp' as the catholicos-elect and to escort him to his consecration at the Holy See. However, he spent a long time here and when he was at last ready to leave, God's will destined that he become ill and die on 9 March. After that we planned to return to Etchmiadzin and once again elect a worthy individual as our leader. But Vardapet Grigor, who was the late Hovsēp''s assistant, delayed our departure with various excuses, as did Major General Lazarev, who informed us that he was waiting for Your Excellency's permission....<sup>1</sup> More than thirty days have elapsed and, despite an official request from the Etchmiadzin brotherhood, we have yet to receive an answer. We have no reason to stay in Tiflis. Grigor has declared himself the deputy and executor of the will of the late Hovsēp' and is keeping us here so that a new election can proceed without us.<sup>2</sup> He has also sent someone to Erevan to give bribes and to orchestrate his own elevation to the rank of archbishop and his nomination as the Prelate of Armenians in Russia. The Armenian people and our clergy do not want him to represent them in Russia. He will act more like a creature of prey than a shepherd of a flock of Christ. Rather we would like Your Excellency to consider our brother Archbishop Ep'rem<sup>3</sup> as the prelate of Armenians in Russia. He has our trust and respect, and had the trust of the late Catholicos Ghukas. Without the agreement of the Holy See, Grigor should not be permitted to enter your domain as our representative. Continue as you have before to favor our brother, Ep'rem. His letters have nothing but praise for you and have expressed the wish to remain in your domain, for which he

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander succeeded his father in March, but was not crowned until September. The Armenian archbishops must have confused his ascendancy with his coronation.

<sup>2</sup> The four archbishops constituted the senior members of the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

<sup>3</sup> Catholicos Ep'rem of Dzoragegh (1809-1830). As archbishop he was commissioned by Catholicos Ghukas to travel in Russia and collect the offerings owed Etchmiadzin. In December 1801 he was appointed by Tsar Alexander as Prelate of Armenians in Russia. On 21 December, he wrote a letter to vice-chancellor Kurakin expressing his gratitude; see *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, f. 89. In 1809 Ep'rem was elected catholicos. The demands of Hoseyn-qoli Khan, sardar of Erevan, to repay the debts of the Church forced him, in 1822, to escape to the monastery of Haghpāt in Georgia. He resigned in 1830 and was replaced by Catholicos Hovhannēs VIII of Karbi.

has our blessing. We also request that Your Excellency expedite our departure. For all of this we will be eternally grateful....

Archbishop Simēon, Archbishop Andrēas, Archbishop Barsegh, Archbishop Tat'ewos.<sup>1</sup>

## 45

*General Knorring to Tsar Alexander I*(27 April 1801)<sup>2</sup>

The late Catholicos Hovsēp' had nominated his deputy, Grigor of Grigoriopol', as the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia. His Late Majesty's consent, communicated on 30 October 1800, is in my possession. Grigor was to accompany Hovsēp' to Ararat [Etchmiadzin] and to assist him there for eight months. After that time Grigor was to be elevated to the rank of archbishop and return to his new prelacy in Russia. Since Hovsēp''s death, however, Grigor has not been elevated to this new rank and still waits in Tiflis. Meanwhile, the Armenian lay and religious community of Astrakhan wish to make Archbishop Ep'rem, who was sent to Russia by Catholicos Ghukas in 1799, their spiritual leader [Prelate of the Armenians in Russia]. I have their petitions and have informed them that I await Your Majesty's decision.

## 46

*General Knorring to General Lazarev*(27 April 1801)<sup>3</sup>

During his visit, while presenting his petition [for his appointment as Prelate of the Armenians in Russia], the Armenian Archbishop Ep'rem also submitted another petition, which he had received from four Armenian archbishops.<sup>4</sup> They had been in Tiflis to greet the late Arme-

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<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Ep'rem also wrote to Knorring during this period, accusing Lazarev, Prince David, Vardapet Grigor, Solomon (governor of the district of Lori), and Barsegh Argutinskii, both nephews of the late Catholicos Hovsēp', of obstructing the election process at Etchmiadzin, *TSGVIA*, record group VUA (1801), file 6164, f. 49-51.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 666), 541.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 667), 541-542. The letter was written in Georgievsk.

<sup>4</sup> See document 44.

nian Catholicos Hovsēp'. They claim that for some unknown reason you have not permitted them to return to their diocese and that they are extremely tired of waiting. In addition, they have indicated that Grigor has been involved in various wrongdoing concerning the ongoing election of the new catholicos and that you and His Highness Prince David are assisting him in these machinations. Furthermore, Ep'rem also states that it has come to his attention that Grigor has illegally assumed control of the funds that belonged to the [Russian] diocese of the late catholicos and is spending them at will. The petition of the four archbishops indicates that as a result of these actions the Holy See has greatly suffered. I had long ago permitted the four archbishops to return to Ararat. I await your report as to the reasons why have they been forbidden to leave Tiflis. The election of the catholicos is a matter for the Armenian people and their religious hierarchy, and no other group should in any way involve itself in it. I forbid you to get involved in this matter, for that could have unpleasant consequences. Please subtly convey this fact to His Highness Prince David, as well. Notify me if there are possessions and property left by the late Catholicos Hovsēp'; how much of it is for charitable purposes, how much was willed to his family, how much belongs to his diocese, how we can return it, and what prevents this? As to Grigor, I should be informed if he wishes to leave Tiflis.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 8 May 1801, Grigor wrote to Knorring explaining that Dawit' was the ideal candidate, since he would fulfill the mission of Hovsēp'. He also defended himself against Ep'rem's charges by stating that he was nominated by Hovsēp' as his successor in Russia and as the executor of his property. He explained that the Argutinskii-Dolgorukii princes would vouch for his integrity and the truth of his statements, *AKAK*, I (doc. 668), 542.

## 47

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*(3 May 1801)<sup>1</sup>

I wish to bring to your attention the news recently received here. Dawit' has been elected the Catholicos of the Armenians and anointed at Etchmiadzin.<sup>2</sup> He was the candidate who was nominated by Catholicos Hovsēp' to be his successor and the one who has always been loyal to Russia.

## 48

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*(7 May 1801)<sup>3</sup>

I have the honor to confirm the report dated 27 April written by Prince David. On 1 April, Ĵavād Khan of Ganja raided the Armenian village of Garzan. I do not know the details, but am sending troops there and have asked the inhabitants of Kazakh and Shamshadil,<sup>4</sup> to defend their territory against the raids of Ĵavād Khan. I assured them that our troops will come to their aid.....I have also learned that on the 25th of April, Ĵavād's two sons, with some 1,000 soldiers, attacked Shamshadil. Fifty Kazakh men joined more than one hundred Shamshadil fighters and forced the invaders to retreat, leaving more than fifty dead and carrying many wounded. Our side lost five men, the son of the sultan of Shamshadil was badly wounded, and three others received minor wounds....

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1801), file 5, f. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Lazarev's decision to detain the four archbishops in Tiflis resulted in Dawit''s election. Lazarev was following the directives of the Russian government which, until late September (see document 57), viewed Dawit' as the pro-Russian candidate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The Shamshadil district was populated by Armenians and the Šams al-Dīnlu tribe under their leader, or sultan.

## 49

*General Lazarev to Melik Abov*(17 May 1801)<sup>1</sup>

I have been informed that you have taken a number of your subjects and have gone to Akhaltsikhe. I haste to instruct you that your action is totally against His Majesty's wishes. His Majesty's subjects cannot leave his territory without his permission. I thereby urge all of you to return as soon as you receive this, present yourselves to me, and demonstrate your loyalty to His Imperial Highness. If you do not obey you will identify yourself as the first to break the harmony, peace, and laws of His Majesty, Our Emperor, to whom you have sworn eternal obedience.

## 50

*General Lazarev to General Knorring*(20 May 1801)<sup>2</sup>

His Excellency Prince David of Georgia has informed me in two letters that Melik Abov and his followers have conducted numerous incursions into Turkish territory. In order to avoid trouble with our mighty neighbor, I have written to Melik Abov to present himself and to explain his actions. I have also asked His Excellency Prince David to keep me informed if anyone else follows Melik Abov's example.

## 51

*Melik Jamshid to General Lazarev*(26 May 1801)<sup>3</sup>

In his firm decree, translated by Peter Ivanovich Kovalenskii, the late King Giorgi gave me the fortress of Lori with all its surrounding villages, as well as the right to collect taxes on certain items.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 881), 638.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 882), 638.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1801), file 5, f. 29.

Hearing of the approach of the Persian army, the inhabitants fled to Pambak and I had to seek refuge in Tiflis. The king died soon after and I have been left without any financial revenues. I ask that you inform the inhabitants that they owe me dues and services and that once Lori is retaken, they should relocate to their previous abode.

## 52

*Archbishop Sargis to General Knorring*(29 May 1801)<sup>1</sup>

In 1781 Prince Potemkin and Archbishop Hovsēp' sent a letter to the meliks of Karabagh in which they mentioned that Her Majesty [Catherine II] had special feelings toward the Armenian people. Meliks Adam Israyēlean, Abov, Hovsēp', and Daniēl Melikbekov--my brother--gathered at the residence of Catholicos Hovhannēs,<sup>2</sup> also my brother, and in December of that year sent a reply. They received a response in June 1782. They once again gathered; this time Meliks Meljum and Aramov were with them, and they sent another letter to Russia....

On 5 November 1784, Ebrāhīm Khan became aware of our activities and began questioning my brother Catholicos Hovhannēs and the Armenian meliks. He accused my brother of being the leader [of the pro-Russian faction] and killed him. After that my brother Daniēl and I, as well as three more of our brothers, were arrested and spent 9 months and 6 days under arrest in the fortress of Shushi. The monastery of Gandzasar was looted, and 5,600 rubles belonging to our family were taken as well. The same fate befell Melik Vakhtam and his family.

Ebrāhīm Khan took the title of catholicos, which rightly belonged to our family from Khachen and which was granted to us by Nāder Shah, and gave it to one of our subordinates....<sup>3</sup>

Meliks Jamshid, Abov, and my brothers and I all escaped to Georgia and sought the protection of King Giorgi. His Imperial Majesty was kind enough to give us the Haghpāt monastery, and I was given

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 883), 638-639.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicos of Aghuank'; see doc. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Anti-catholicos Israyēl.



the rank of Bishop by the catholicos at Etchmiadzin. My brothers, however, are in a state of poverty and I beg you to ask His Majesty to aid them as he has the other meliks of Karabagh. When the Persian army approached Erevan, some 330 families from Karabagh, who had taken refuge there and who had heard that their meliks were in Georgia, left for that realm. Among them were 80 to 90 families from Khachen who were our subjects. I request that Astuatsatur, son of my brother, Daniël, be appointed as the Melik of Khachen. I beg that our meliks be given authority over their subjects who are in Georgia or in Karabagh....

## 53

*Ambassador Tamara to General Knorring*  
(12 June 1801)<sup>1</sup>

Last year, on 28 April, on the order of His Imperial Majesty, I presented to the Sublime Porte our objections to the election of Patriarch Daniël as catholicos of the Armenians. Eventually I was successful. Daniël not only did not become catholicos, but was deposed as patriarch of Constantinople and was exiled to the island of Lemnos. Archbishop Hovsēp' was eventually elected as catholicos. Nonetheless, the Armenians of Constantinople, in other words, the Armenian bankers,<sup>2</sup> have remained loyal to Daniël. Now, learning of Hovsēp's death, they have again presented Daniël as the sole candidate. Following my objections to the Porte, however, three candidates have been selected:

1) Daniël--a very shrewd man and highly unreliable--is unacceptable to us. He was to take his post as Archbishop of Kayseri (Caesarea) and was on his way there when he was ordered by the sul-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I, (doc. 670), 543. The letter was dated 12 June according to the Gregorian calendar used in Constantinople. According to the Russian calendar, it was 31 May. It was written in Büyükdere, a district farther up the Bosphorus on the European side, where many embassies, including the Russian, were located.

<sup>2</sup> During the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, a group of powerful Armenian bankers emerged in Constantinople. Known as *amiras* (from the Arabic *amir*, meaning chief), this oligarchy managed to gain power by loaning money to viziers, pashas, tax farmers, and others who needed to purchase positions. The *amiras* had a major voice in the election of the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople.

tan<sup>1</sup> [who has been influenced by the bankers) to return to Constantinople. The bankers are hoping to advance him to the rank of catholicos and have convinced the Porte to depose Patriarch Hovhannēs and name Daniēl again as patriarch of Constantinople. I have protested that the Porte should not interfere in the wishes of the late Catholicos Hovsēp'. Daniēl has told the bankers that the hierarchy at Etchmiadzin was against Dawit' and that it had chosen to disperse throughout the province rather than vote for him. Dawit', however, according to Daniēl, asked the khan of Erevan to forcibly bring them back to Etchmiadzin, where they were pressured to name Dawit' as their candidate. Citing this, the Armenian bankers at Constantinople have asked the sultan to remove Dawit''s name from the list of potential candidates.

2) Archbishop Dawit', recommended by the late Catholicos Hovsēp', and personally known to me both when I was at Etchmiadzin and when he was here in Constantinople, during the election of Hovsēp', that followed the death of Catholicos Ghukas. I was personally acquainted with Ghukas; he was a great leader of the Armenian nation. In our private discussions, in the presence of Dawit', Ghukas expressed his wish that when the right conditions presented themselves, Russia should help to restore the autonomy of his people.

3) Archbishop Barsegh is totally unknown to me. He has been nominated primarily because of his senior status in the Church.

The other nominee of the late Hovsēp', Patriarch Hovhannēs of Constantinople, is a worthy man, but he seems to be obligated to the Porte and is from common folk, since there is no Armenian nobility in Turkey. He is also not acceptable to the Persian Armenians. He has, in any case, withdrawn his name and has expressed his wish to stay with his relatives in Constantinople.

Our main task at the moment is to support Dawit' with all our might, I from this end and you from yours. The khan of Erevan can also support him without risking anger from the Porte. I cannot determine, however, how much the khan fears the local Armenians or the

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<sup>1</sup> Selim III.

Persian ruler<sup>1</sup> and the extent to which the Porte will be willing to go along with the decisions of the khan of Erevan. In the meantime, I shall do everything to hinder the nomination of Daniël and will continue our efforts on behalf of Dawit'.

## 54

*Ambassador Tamara to General Knorring*(28 June 1801)<sup>2</sup>

I am happy to report that my efforts for the realization of the wishes of Catholicos Hovsēp' have been successful. Archbishop Dawit', under the protection of the khan of Erevan, has already been elected catholicos by the hierarchy of Etchmiadzin. The Sublime Porte has ordered the patriarch of Constantinople [Daniël] to accept that election as legal and to petition the sultan to confirm it with his decree. I have charged the postal director at the border to relay this letter by express messenger so that you will not lose time in case you need to act on this immediately.<sup>3</sup>

## 55

*Decree of Fath 'Alī Shah*(1801)<sup>4</sup>

Since the noble Christian Caliph (catholicos), the esteemed Dāvūd (Dawit'), residing at the Holy See of Ūč-Kīlīsā (Etchmiadzin),<sup>5</sup> has relied upon and received our protection and favor, let it be known that

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<sup>1</sup> By 1800 Fath 'Alī Shah Qajar had established firm control over Persia. An army under the command of his son and heir, 'Abbās Mīrzā, was stationed in Tabriz, to affirm Persian suzerainty over Azerbaijan and Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> This is 16 June by the Julian calendar. *AKAK*, I (doc. 671), 543-544.

<sup>3</sup> Another letter, dated the same day, was dispatched by Tamara to Knorring informing him that the Armenian leaders of Constantinople had consented to Dawit''s election and that their representative, Bishop Karapet, would depart with the sultan's decree for Etchmiadzin within a week, *ibid.*, doc. 672.

<sup>4</sup> *AVOK*, Persia's Relations with the Caucasus, doc. 24.

<sup>5</sup> The Persians referred to Etchmiadzin as "the Three Churches," or Ūč-Kīlīsā. There was another Ūč-Kilisa, near Diadin (Bagrewan) in the pashalik of Bayazid, see document 61.

according to decrees issued by former rulers, all the priests and servants who reside at Etchmiadzin are exempt from the *māl va jah-āt*,<sup>1</sup> *vūjūhāt*,<sup>2</sup> *avārez*, *bīgar*, and *pīškār*<sup>3</sup> taxes.<sup>4</sup> Free from all dues, members of Etchmiadzin can thus devote their time to their duties [prayers]. If any Muslim landowner uses the land belonging to Etchmiadzin, he should pay the proper dues owed to owners of private property.<sup>5</sup> The *divān* (chancery) of the province is reminded that the monastery and the Armenian settlements, as in the past, are permitted to ring or rattle bells, call for prayers, and bury their dead without any hindrance from the Muslims. No one should, without the permission of the catholicos, interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the monastery. If any Muslim has a case against an Armenian residing there [on Church property], he should inform the exalted catholicos. No Muslim can forcibly convert an Armenian. Priests who are sent by the esteemed catholicos on missions outside the monastery should not be harassed in any way, and those who come from Iran or Rum (Ottoman Empire) on pilgrimages and have brought offerings and gifts should not be taxed by the *rāhdārs* (toll collectors). Water from the rivers of Karpī (Karbi) and Oshakan, which from early times have been used for the irrigation of lands belonging to Etchmiadzin, will continue to be used free of charge. All the inhabitants of the monastery are subject to the laws of their own faith, which are administered by the caliph, and no one can interfere in that function. The *beglerbeg* (governor-general) of *Čokūr Sa'd*<sup>6</sup> and other *beglerbegs*, mayors, officials, and citizens of our imperial domains should not disobey this royal decree, but must follow it carefully to avoid our wrath. *Ĵomādā II*, 1215 *Hijri*.

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<sup>1</sup> Tax collected in cash or kind. The first was a tax on looms, trees, houses, domestic animals, wells, and mills; the second was a tax on farmlands.

<sup>2</sup> A number of indirect taxes for the upkeep of officials.

<sup>3</sup> Taxes exacted either by using peasants' animals for plowing or by *corvée* (forced labor, including domestics labor) for a period of three to six days a year exacted from every adult male.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account of the taxes in this period, see G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, 1992), pp. 149-167.

<sup>5</sup> The term used is *mālekane*, which means property owned by an individual or institution.

<sup>6</sup> *Čokūr Sa'd* referred to the regions of Erevan and Nakhichevan.

## 56

*Report from the Persian Embassy in Constantinople*  
(1801)<sup>1</sup>

When the Russian prince, Menshikov,<sup>2</sup> was in Istanbul (Constantinople), the Greek patriarch presented himself and humbly requested that the Russian tsar place him and his people under the protection of the Russian Empire. Menshikov was very pleased with this and hoped that the Armenian patriarch [Hovhannēs of Baiburt] would follow suit. After waiting for some time he realized that the latter had no plans to do so. He then went to the Armenian patriarchate to complain that, unlike the Greeks, who had presented themselves, the Christian Armenians had avoided him. The patriarch responded that the Armenians had no complaints against the sultan; rather they were very content and led a happy life under his benevolent protection. If they turned against their benefactor and asked for Russian aid, they would be disappointed with the result--for they have heard how [badly] the Russians treat the Armenians in their empire. If, heaven forbid, the sultan turned against them and they were forced to seek protection from another state, they would chose France or England. Even if the sultan lost all his empire, they would still rely on his protection. Menshikov, disappointed, rose and left for his residence. The sultan [Selim III] learned of this and four days later called the Armenian patriarch to the palace. To show his appreciation and respect, the sultan rose from his throne and greeted the patriarch three rooms before the throne room. He took his hand and led him to the throne room, expressing his pleasure with the loyalty of the Armenians, and added that if he lost all his empire and only the Armenians remained, he would be content in the knowledge of their devotion and loyalty. *Ĵomādā II*, 1215 *Hijri*.

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<sup>1</sup> The report was sent to Tehran, *AVOK*, Persia's Relations with the Caucasus, doc. 25.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Menshikov visited Constantinople for the first time in late 1801. He was envoy to Persia prior to the Second Russo-Persian War and envoy to Turkey prior to the Crimean War.

## 57

*Tsar Alexander to Ambassador Tamara*(26 September 1801)<sup>1</sup>

The situation regarding the election of the Armenian catholicos has changed since I wrote you to involve yourself in that affair in Constantinople. Reports from all sides have put a new twist on the situation. The claim that the late Catholicos Hovsēp' had nominated Dawit' has been proved totally false. Furthermore, Dawit''s assumption of the rank of catholicos was accomplished by force of arms by the khan of Erevan. The Armenian people, not only in the Ottoman Empire, but in Russia, recognize only Daniēl, and I have received from various Armenian groups and from Daniēl himself proof of the undisputed fact that he won the election....My feeling concerning this is so strong that I must waver from my previous decision and although it appears that, thanks to your efforts, Dawit''s election may be considered final and, even though our confirmation of this election is to Russia's benefit, Our interests have to be sacrificed this time. I cannot disregard people's wishes to right a wrong....<sup>2</sup> Therefore, I commission you to inform the Turkish ministry that I agree with the Porte's confirmation of Daniēl as catholicos. Explain that although it may be late, it would be beneficial for both our states, judging from the petitions [received from Armenians], to accept Daniēl. I give you full authority to deal in this matter. The Turkish minister may consider this as our approval of their original choice.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 674), 544.

<sup>2</sup> On 12 September, Alexander wrote to Knorring to take special care of the Armenians of Transcaucasia and to bring them close to Russia with every form of kindness. He added, "The Armenians are numerous and they reside along the borders of Georgia and together they shall form a strong Christian group in the region. We, therefore, wish you to demonstrate your support of the Armenian catholicos at Etchmiadzin and keep friendly relations with him." *ibid.*, (doc. 548), 436, original in TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1801), file 1, f. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier, on 19 September, Archbishop Ep'rem wrote to Hovhannēs, patriarch of Constantinople, and to the chief bankers (*amira*) and tradesmen (*esnaf*) of that city asking them to support the candidacy of Daniēl, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 86, ff. 40-46.

## 58

*Catholicos Dawit' to Ivan Lazarev*<sup>1</sup>(6 November 1801)<sup>2</sup>

I received your pleasant letter, dear friend, of 20 September in which you congratulate me on the decree<sup>3</sup> of [my] confirmation [as catholicos]. I thank you for your kindness. My felicitations on the medal which I have learned you were recently awarded. I ask God that He grant you many more such favors. I have learned that Archbishop Ep'rem has written to the Court that I have squandered the wealth of the Church on the Persians and, contrary to the wishes of the Armenian people, have forcibly taken over the throne of the Holy See. The fact is that the Armenians of Tiflis and those of our province have elected me to this position. The entire episode is clear to General Knorring, who wrote to me that it was the wish of the late Catholicos Hovsēp' that I succeed him; and to that effect, he asked Mr. Tamara to obtain a decree from the sultan to aid me in leading the Armenian nation. At the same time Mr. Tamara wrote to me that he has received two requests from His Majesty to obtain such a decree. These rumors are spread by my enemies, for I have the written consent of the Armenian nation and have not forcibly taken over the seat of catholicos....

I hope that you will support me in this matter, for without your original support I would not have been certain of the legality of my election. Please report all the facts to His Majesty so that these rumors will not change His disposition towards me.

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan (Hovhannēs) Lazarev, was senior court councilor in St. Petersburg and the head of the powerful Lazarev family. He was born in 1735 in New Julfa and died in St. Petersburg in the winter of 1801. His wealth enabled the Armenians to open schools in New Nakhichevan, Grigoriopol', and Tiflis. He was the founder of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow (currently the Armenian embassy in Russia). He and his brothers, Minas and Hovakim, were actively involved in encouraging the Armenians of Transcaucasia toward a Russian orientation.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 676), 545, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1(1801), file 5, ff. 186-187. The accuracy of the Russian translation is verified by General Lazarev from Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> The decree was from Sultan Selim III.

## 59

*Archbishops Karapet and Abraham<sup>1</sup> to General Knorring*  
(9 January 1802)<sup>2</sup>

We have been appointed by the Church assembly as the plenipotentiaries of the Holy See to personally deliver the thanks of Catholicos Dawit' to His Majesty on his confirmation to the office of catholicos. We also have copies of the decisions of the Armenians of Constantinople and Persia, as well as those residing within the borders of Georgia. We also have the decrees of the Turkish sultan, the shah of Persia, Bābā Khan, and letters from the brotherhood of Etchmiadzin. We have arrived here in Tiflis and have sought the permission of Major General Lazarev, who seems to be in charge here, to proceed to Russia, where we will present the various documents to the Russian Armenians as well as to His Majesty. Although Lazarev is favorably disposed to this, he needs Your Excellency's permission to do so. We beg that you grant us permission to carry out our commission and deliver the message of His Holiness, Catholicos Dawit'....

## 60

*Armenians of Astrakhan<sup>3</sup> to the Holy Consistory<sup>4</sup>*  
(22 January 1802)<sup>5</sup>

We are informing you that the throne of the catholicos at Holy Etchmiadzin is suffering at the hands of evil people. They have usurped it with the help of unbelievers [Persians], barbarians who have gone against our faith, law, and wishes. Archbishop Dawit' has illegally as-

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<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Abraham Golean was from Tat'ew. He was elected patriarch of Constantinople in 1813 but was removed in 1815 on grounds of inefficiency.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 29, ff. 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is signed by 200 Armenians of Astrakhan. It was written in Armenian and translated into Russian by the district secretary, Michael Shainov.

<sup>4</sup> The Holy Consistory was under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg, which was established by Peter the Great in 1721, when he abolished the patriarchate in Moscow.

<sup>5</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, f. 90.



sumed the title of catholicos and is planning to send two bishops to Russia. Dark times have descended upon the Holy See....

Archbishop and catholicos-elect Daniël, as is evident to all who elected him, is the rightful leader of our people. We do not recognize anyone else. Archbishop Ep'rem, who has been appointed as the prelate of Armenians in Russia by His Imperial Majesty, is of the same opinion. We, therefore, ask you to direct His Excellency General Knorring not to receive the two archbishops [Karapet and Abraham]<sup>1</sup> sent by Dawit' and, if possible, not to permit them to enter Russian territory....

## 61

*General Knorring to Mohammad Khan*(16 April 1802)<sup>2</sup>

In response to Your Honor's notification of the election of the Armenian catholicos at Etchmiadzin, I am informing you that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor has firmly decided that this election, which was allegedly conducted by the religious hierarchy, should have been performed according to tradition and should have had the full support of the entire Armenian nation without any outside interference. As His Majesty is thoroughly objective in this matter, it is necessary that we support a catholicos who is most worthy of the title. The lots have been drawn, and the will of the Armenian nation in the Russian and Turkish Empires has selected Archbishop Daniël, who has been approved by His Majesty and the Sublime Porte. Therefore, I hope and expect that you, my old friend, will give due honor to catholicos-elect Daniël, who is presently in Bayazid,<sup>3</sup> not only to permit him to come to Etchmiadzin, but to treat him as the leader of the entire Armenian nation. Your conduct in this matter will demonstrate your willingness

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<sup>1</sup> See document 59.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 677), 545. Copy at TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2 (1802), file 22, ff. 25-26. The date listed in AKAK is April 16, the copy in the archives has April 18.

<sup>3</sup> In the monastery complex known as "Three Churches" in Diadin.

to carry out the wishes of His Imperial Majesty and you shall be in His favor.<sup>1</sup>

## 62

*General Knorring to Catholicos Daniël*  
(18 April 1802)<sup>2</sup>

Saintly Catholicos of All Armenians and Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, Daniël.

My most-honored friend:

I have received your letter written on 24 February from Erzerum, which was delivered by your zealous messenger, Vardapet Anton.<sup>3</sup> His Imperial Majesty in his special relation to the Christ-loving Armenian nation has deemed that the election of the Armenian catholicos should be carried out by the brotherhood according to tradition and the will of the entire Armenian nation....I have, therefore, written to the honorable Moḥammad Khan of Erevan to receive you with the respect due a leader, rightfully elected by the people and confirmed in your position by both the Russian and Turkish Empires. He shall be responsible for your safety and comfort during your journey through his domain to the monastery of Etchmiadzin....

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<sup>1</sup> Upon his arrival in Tiflis, Knorring sent his representative Isaac Gentsaurov to Moḥammad Khan on 13 June of that year to impress upon him the seriousness of Russia's support of Daniël, *AKAK*, I (doc. 842), 620 and *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 27, ff. 69-70. In a separate letter written on 18 April, Knorring tried to convince Moḥammad Khan to place the khanate of Erevan under Russian protection, *AKAK*, I (doc. 840), 618-619.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 22, ff. 38-40.

<sup>3</sup> Following his mission to Knorring, Anton went to Ep'rem, who sent him to Astrakhan. There he assisted Nikoghos Aghbabeian at the Aghbabeian School and was named bishop. In 1806 he was driven out of Astrakhan as a dissenter.

## 63

*General Knorring to Archbishop Hovhannēs of Kars*(3 May 1802)<sup>1</sup>

I have received your pleasant note, in which you and the Armenians of Kars congratulate me on my command and welcome me to Georgia. My thanks to all of you; I am also pleased to learn that the governor of Kars, Mehmet Pasha,<sup>2</sup> is friendly toward Georgia. I ask you to continue your friendship and assure you of my assistance.<sup>3</sup>

## 64

*Colonel Kariagin<sup>4</sup> to General Knorring*(9 May 1802)<sup>5</sup>

I have repeated information from the Armenians of Pambak arriving from Erevan that apparently Kalb 'Alī Khan [of Nakhichevan] is gathering troops and is planning to enter Pambak. Prince Alexander [of Georgia] is with him and is trying to convince the khan to let him lead the troops with which he will cross into our borders. The same infor-

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 27, f. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Mehmet Pasha of Kars steered an independent course. He cooperated with the Russians against the Persian khans and the pasha of Akhaltsikhe. He used Armenian of Kars, especially the archbishop, to carry his messages (written in Armenian) to the Russians. He died in 1807.

<sup>3</sup> The pasha of Kars and General Knorring were concerned that Mohammad Khan of Erevan would invade Pambak, Shuragol, and Kars. The Armenian leaders of Kars helped to form the Russo-Turkish alliance against the khan of Erevan. Knorring wrote to the pasha of Kars and to the Muslim chiefs of Pambak assuring them of Russian protection. He also wrote to the khan of Erevan, asking him not to start a military conflict, *AKAK*, I (docs. 808, 841, 1037), 605, 619-620, 709. On 10 June the archbishop of Kars wrote to Knorring that the population of Kars wished to be under the protection of Russia, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 28, f. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel P. M. Kariagin was an officer in the Caucasian army. He served under Tsitsianov and was present at the storming of Ganja. He was appointed commandant of Elisavetpol' and in 1805 defended the region against the Persians. He died in 1807.

<sup>5</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 849), 624, sent from Kara-Kilisa.

mation has arrived from the ruler of Bayazid, Kara Bek. I have taken all the necessary precautions.<sup>1</sup>

## 65

*Consul Skibinevskii to General Knorring*(12 May 1802)<sup>2</sup>

I informed Hoseyn-qolī Khan<sup>3</sup> and the elders of Baku of His Majesty's manifesto regarding Georgia. They became aware that the Georgian royal house, its nobility, population, and religious hierarchy are now subjects of His Majesty. I have once more stated that they are fortunate to be under the favor of His Imperial Highness....I wish to again point out to Your Excellency that the khans of Erevan and Ganja are Persians who have large numbers of Armenians living in their territories and who are immediate neighbors of Georgia. The khans of Sheki, Shemakha, Baku, Kuba, Derbent, and even Talesh have different faiths [some are Sunni, others are Shi'i], are from different tribes, are autonomous, and backward....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 14 May, Kariagin reported that the catholicos had sent from Ararat an Armenian named Gregory Abkarev to report that a large number of soldiers led by Kalb 'Alī Khan and Prince Alexander were close to the Georgian border at Kara-su, *AKAK*, I (doc. 850), 624. The information was not wholly accurate. The khan of Nakhichevan had crossed the border into Bayazid to enforce his claims in that region and to challenge the pasha of Kars, who was friendly with the Russians in Tiflis. He had no intention of invading Georgia. The Russian command may have exaggerated the danger in order to justify aiding the pasha of Kars, *ibid.*, (docs. 851-867), 624-630.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 888), 641.

<sup>3</sup> Hoseyn-qolī Khan of Baku resisted the Russian overtures and in 1806 treacherously killed Tsitsianov during the surrender of Baku. Soon after he was forced to leave for Persia.

<sup>4</sup> The envoy implied that Russia could take advantage of the division among the Muslims. On 7 May Skibinevskii reported to Knorring that Armenians from Tehran have informed his secretary in Rašt that there have been no Persian troop movements toward Azerbaijan, *ibid.*, (doc. 989), 689. During the same period an Armenian in Persia reported to Prince Ioane of Georgia that the French envoy has seen Bābā Khan [the shah] and has asked for a permanent residence in Bandar ['Abbās], *ibid.*, (doc. 998), 694.

## 66

*Tsar Alexander to Mohammad Khan*(13 May 1802)<sup>1</sup>

With the Grace of God, We, Alexander I, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias.

Our Imperial greetings to the esteemed ruler of Erevan, Mohammad Khan. As the decree of His Highness the sultan has proclaimed, the Armenian archbishop, Daniël, is the choice of the whole Armenian nation, has the support of the Etchmiadzin brotherhood, and has been acknowledged as the catholicos. We have also shown Our favor by giving him Our Imperial decree. As he has to take residence at Etchmiadzin, the Holy See of the Armenian people, which is in your territorial domain, We ask, that Your Excellency, who has always favored Us with your support, will not refuse to assist him and will do all to protect and install him in his rightful position.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Issued under the signature of Alexander in St. Petersburg by the vice-chancellor, Prince Kurakin, *AKAK*, I (doc. 679), 546, copy in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 10, f. 292.

<sup>2</sup> On 19 May 1802, Alexander sent a decree to Knorring, who was in Astrakhan, in which he confirmed Daniël as the catholicos and Archbishop Ep'rem as the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia. The document has the signature of Alexander and those of Alexander Kurakin and Count Kochubei, see *AKAK*, I (doc. 681), 546-547 and *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 39, f. 12. On the same date the tsar sent a decree to Catholicos Daniël, in which he stated that the Russian throne had always looked favorably on the Armenians. Peter, Catherine, and his own beloved father, Paul, had supported Catholicos Esayi and Nersēs of Karabagh and Simēon, Ghukas, and Hovsēp' of Etchmiadzin in 1724, 1726, 1768, 1798, and 1800 respectively. The letter states that he has ordered Kovalenskii in Tiflis not to permit any Armenian cleric to cross into Russia without the written permission of Daniël or Ep'rem, *AKAK*, I (doc. 682), 547 and *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 39, ff. 13-15, *SAAN*, I, 244-245.

## 67

**Governor Kovalenskii to General Knorring**  
(19 May 1802)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenians who are currently living on state lands in Kazakh have sent me a petition, signed by all, in which they complain about the harsh treatment of the local military commander, Melik Misail. Two weeks ago he secretly tortured and killed one of his subordinates....The letters ask us to rid them of the tyranny of this commander.

I called the melik to my presence and presented him with the complaints of the villagers and asked him about the murder. He admitted that the peasants are paying heavy taxes, but added that these were in place before he arrived there. As to the death of the subordinate, he stated that he had executed him according to ancient custom because of rude behavior and due to the fact that the subordinate was planning to murder him.

## 68

**Governor Kovalenskii to General Knorring**  
(12 July 1802)<sup>2</sup>

In carrying out your instructions (your communiqué no. 107), I have confirmed that the Armenians of Tiflis have recognized Daniël as the only rightful catholicos. As to the unpleasant situation here and in Russia, which resulted in barring any cleric who did not have Daniël's writ as *persona non grata*, I am content to inform you that Archbishop Hov-hannēs has the necessary documentation from the catholicos and has been recognized by the Armenian religious hierarchy in Tiflis as their spiritual leader.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1802), file 28, ff. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 185.

<sup>3</sup> On 12 June 1802, Knorring wrote to Kovalenskii that the Armenians in Russia were complaining that a certain Archbishop Hovhannēs from Tiflis was distributing *muṛon* from Etchmiadzin and collecting dues. This man, Knorring added, was appar-

## 69

*General Knorring to Mohammad Khan*  
(13 July 1802)<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency the esteemed Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, my honorable friend.

Upon my arrival in Georgia I had the honor to inform you that His Majesty, the Emperor, following the wishes of the entire Armenian nation, had granted His consent to the election of Archbishop Daniël as catholicos. This wish was also confirmed by a decree from the Ottoman Porte. You have indicated that you desire the friendship of Our Imperial Majesty, Who now wishes that the new catholicos be consecrated as soon as possible....

I am sending state counselor Isaac Gentsaurov to explain His Majesty's wishes in person, so that Catholicos Daniël will be permitted to come to Etchmiadzin and assume his rightful place. Please pay close attention to the words of Mr. Gentsaurov and take the necessary steps to put yourself in His Majesty's favor. I anxiously await your response and firmly embrace the hope that you will not only seriously consider my request without any delay, but will gladly perform this service, which will endear you in the eyes of our Empire....<sup>2</sup>

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ently appointed by Dawit' and not by Daniël, *AKAK*, I (docs. 683), 547-548, copy in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 27, ff. 276-278. Kovalenskii made immediate inquiries and on 22 June, he received a letter from Hovhannēs in which the archbishop stated that although he was appointed by Dawit', when he realized that Daniël had been confirmed by the Russians and the Ottomans, he had an audience with him in Bayazid, and was reconfirmed as the head of the Armenians in Georgia. He possessed the necessary letters and had presented them to the Armenian secular and religious leaders in Tiflis, *ibid.*, file 28, ff. 176-178. On 4 July, Kovalenskii informed Knorring that the dues collected in Georgia for the Holy See were being held there by Hovhannēs until Daniël took his rightful place at Etchmiadzin, *ibid.*, f. 175.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, I (doc. 842), 620, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 27, ff. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> On the same day Knorring instructed Gentsaurov to travel to Erevan to deliver this letter and to pressure the khan to facilitate Daniël's installation as catholicos, *AKAK*, I (doc. 684), 548-549. On 1 October, Gentsaurov reported to Knorring that Moḥammad Khan had demanded 100,000 rubles from Daniël to install him as catholicos. Dawit', in the meantime, had arrested five bishops in Etchmiadzin and had put

## 70

*Mohammad Khan to General Knorring*<sup>1</sup>  
(1802)

Through your official messenger, Isaac, you wrote to us about Patriarch<sup>2</sup> Daniël. I too made an effort to install him at Etchmiadzin and informed him of that fact. The present catholicos at Etchmiadzin [Dawit'], however, was elected by unanimous vote [and anointed as catholicos], a fact which is known to the Turkish and Persian courts. Church rite also stipulates that as long as the elected catholicos is alive he cannot be replaced. This should be made clear when you instruct your messenger to inform him [Daniël] of these facts.

## 71

*Counselor Lashkarev to Alexander Kurakin*  
(13 July 1802)<sup>3</sup>

I have once again received a letter from Archbishop Ep'rem, as well as letters from Armenians residing here [in Russia], the contents of which I am recounting to you in brief. Catholicos Daniël, following his anointment [in Diadin] has appointed a priest as his messenger to the Sublime Porte to thank the sultan for his confirmation. It is my opinion that we should obtain a command from the Porte that would enable the said priest to proceed without hindrance....

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them under guard. He had shaved the beard and mustache of one of them. He had also given 600 rubles to Prince Alexander of Georgia to take his side, *AKAK*, I (doc. 846), 622. On 5 December, Lazarev informed Knorring that the khan of Erevan refused to accept Daniël, stating that he had already received the decree from the Porte in favor of Dawit', *ibid.*, (doc. 847), 623.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 685), 549. The date of this document, which must have been written in Persian, has not been indicated (it was probably according to the Muslim calendar and was not translated). Although it was forwarded to State Chancellor Count Vorontsov in St. Petersburg in October 1802, it must have been written in the summer (late July or early August) in response to Isaac Gentsaurov's visit to Erevan.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the title of patriarch here is deliberate.

<sup>3</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802), file 185, f. 139.



On another matter, Archbishop Martiros of Smyrna and Bishop Step'anos,<sup>1</sup> who were sent to Constantinople by Dawit' [to advance his cause], have supposedly turned against him. I take the liberty to suggest that it would be a kind gesture if Your Excellency would write to Daniël that as the pastor of his flock he should repair the damages by forgetting the past and reinstating them in their positions....<sup>2</sup>

72

*Travel Permit*<sup>3</sup>

(28 July 1802)

The holder of this document, the Armenian Vardapet Anton, on a mission from Catholicos Daniël, is currently in a province of the Ottoman Porte. He is permitted to proceed to St. Petersburg, via Tiflis and Mozdok, to meet Archbishop Ep'rem. He can travel freely from Georgievsk via Astrakhan to St. Petersburg. Anton has produced the necessary documents from Catholicos Daniël and has thus, by His Majesty's command, been given this passport with my signature. Issued at Georgievsk on the Caucasian Line, 28 July 1802. General K. F. Knorring.

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<sup>1</sup> Step'anos Kuchurean.

<sup>2</sup> On 30 July 1802, Grigor IV, patriarch of Constantinople (1801-1802), in his congratulatory letter to Tsar Alexander on the occasion of his coronation, asked that Daniël be installed on the throne of catholicos, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, ff. 143-144. On 13 September (1 September, old style) 1802 Tamara forwarded this and a message from Daniël (who was in Bayazid) to Count Kochubei to be presented to the tsar and to Ep'rem, *ibid.*, f. 153. On 13 August 1802, Vice-Chancellor Kurakin wrote to Catholicos Daniël, advising him to make peace with the opposition (including Archbishop Martiros and Bishop Step'anos). To give weight to his request, Kurakin listed all his (Kurakin's) titles and medals, see *ibid.*, folio 146.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 27, ff. 318-319.

## 73

*Counselor Lashkarev to the Foreign Ministry*(21 August 1802)<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Ep'rem has written to me that he has received numerous letters from Armenians requesting that officials of the Russian Empire not get involved in the affairs of the Armenian Church and that Vardapet Grigor, who has been illegally elevated to the rank of bishop by Dawit', be forbidden to reside in Russia. The khan of Erevan maintains that Daniël has not been confirmed by His Majesty and thus cannot proceed to Etchmiadzin to be anointed by the brotherhood of that monastery....

It is my duty to state that, in my opinion, since Daniël has already been confirmed by His Majesty, Russian officials everywhere, in order to gain peace and the cooperation of the Armenian people, should do their utmost to accept his orders, and that Grigor should be told that he should not oppose the edicts of Catholicos Daniël....<sup>2</sup>

## 74

*Governor Kovalenskii to General Knorring*(10 September 1802)<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Musin-Pushkin<sup>4</sup> in his letter of 31 July last, has requested that I order that thirty Greek silver miners in Akht'al, who belonged to princes Argutinskii and [Loris] Melikov but who were given to him by King Giorgi, be transferred to his authority. Musin-Pushkin already has 108 workers in the copper works of Miskhan. He also claims that 25 Armenians, who are subjects of Melik Abov, were also given to

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<sup>1</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, ff. 150-151.

<sup>2</sup> On 20 October 1802, Lashkarev wrote Chancellor Vorontsov explaining the problems surrounding the Armenian Church, *ibid.*, ff. 169-170.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1802), file 28, ff. 455-457.

<sup>4</sup> Apollo Apollosovich Musin-Pushkin (1760-1805), government official, scientist, and a member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, was sent to Transcaucasia in 1799 to explore its mineral riches. His exaggerated report contributed to the annexation of Georgia. He was put in charge of the mines of Georgia and served in that position until his death in 1805.

him by the Georgian king. There is no documentation that Melik Abov's subjects ever served in Georgian mines....I told Musin-Pushkin that I can not force Melik Abov to send his workers, but he insisted and pulled rank. I asked Melik Abov to send 25 workers to Akht'al and he did it as a favor to me. Since Musin-Pushkin has indicated that he will need more workers and that he has special decrees for this, I ask you to examine his documents and determine the extent of his authority. The inhabitants of this region do not like to work in mines and taking farmers away from their crops is not advisable....

## 75

*Captain Taganov to General Lazarev*  
(18 October 1802)<sup>1</sup>

Yesterday an Armenian refugee from Ganja informed us that the khan of Ganja has promised Prince Alexander [of Georgia] his full support. He added that he has seen the prince four times in the mosque and that they consider Alexander a Muslim there. Alexander has written to all the khans to send their youth [to join in his struggle against Russia] and has sent to Jar [Jaro-Belakan] to gather 5,000 men, promising to pay them 50 rubles each....

## 76

*Count Vorontsov<sup>2</sup> to Moḥammad Khan*  
(21 October 1802)<sup>3</sup>

Honorable and esteemed ruler of the Erevan province, Moḥammad Khan, my close friend.

You are well aware that according to the ancient regulations of the Armenian Church hierarchy and the Armenian nation, they have

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 829), 613.

<sup>2</sup> Count Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov (1741-1805) was a Russian statesman who was appointed to the state council by Tsar Alexander. He was interested in Armenian affairs and was chancellor from 1801 to 1802.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, I (doc. 686), 549-550, original in *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, ff. 175-176. Folio 177 contains a similar letter from Vorontsov to Kalb 'Alī, Khan of Nakhichevan. The letters were written in Persian with the Russian text enclosed.

unanimously elected as catholicos, archbishop Daniël. You are also aware that His Imperial Majesty, my Sovereign Lord, and His highness, the sultan of Turkey, have followed the wishes of the people and have confirmed him in that position by their imperial decrees. You are aware that he is at the Turkish border in the Three Churches monastery complex, in the Bagrewan [Diadin] district, and that archbishop Dawit', who has illegally assumed the title of catholicos of the Armenians with the help of his circle and a number of Persian supporters, has up until now refused to allow Daniël to come to Etchmiadzin and assume his rightful place as the leader of the Armenian people.

Therefore, my Sovereign Lord, His Imperial Majesty has ordered me to inform you, esteemed khan, that His Imperial Majesty and the Ottoman Porte--your neighbor--do not doubt that you, honorable khan, after receiving these letters, will not only cease to support the demands of Dawit' and his followers, but will divert all your support to Daniël, enable him to come to Etchmiadzin, and treat him with the respect due his rank, which is the Catholicos of All Armenians. Your personal protection of the catholicos will increase the favorable opinion of my Sovereign Lord and His Highness, the sultan of Turkey. Your opposition to this request may be viewed as an insult by your neighboring states.

In addition, His Imperial Majesty asks you to impress upon Archbishop Dawit' his illegal seizing of the catholicos's throne, and that if he voluntarily agrees to abide by the wishes of these two great rulers, he will not be punished, but, at His Majesty's request, will be embraced by the rightful catholicos as a spiritual brother and will maintain his senior position as archbishop. His Imperial Majesty wishes you good health and success in your endeavors and I am ready to assist you in any way I can.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 26 October 1802, Vorontsov forwarded the letters to the khans of Erevan and Nakhichevan to Tsitsianov with a note which instructed him to send them on to the khans. He also explained the content of the letters and asked Tsitsianov to inform the khans that the wishes of the Russian tsar and Turkish sultan had to be obeyed, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 188, f. 187.

## 77

*Letter of Father Hayrapet<sup>1</sup> to Archbishop Hovhannēs and Bishop  
Nersēs<sup>2</sup>  
(21 October 1802)<sup>3</sup>*

Prior to this I have written two letters, which obviously never reached you, since you have not written to us in such a long time. The news here is that our pasha [of Bayazid] and his son have both died; his brother Ibrahim Bek, the previous bek of Khamur,<sup>4</sup> has assumed the title of pasha and has taken control of the entire pashalik<sup>5</sup> of Bayazid. The reason for this letter is that I fear that the treacherous Dawit' will devise a new plan to usurp the See and sell the precious utensils belonging to the Holy See which we, with great difficulty and suffering, have managed to safeguard all this time. The former pasha was aware of all of his [Dawit's] lies and cunning, but this one is not. I do not presume to give you advice, but it would be extremely helpful if your Russian officials wrote a letter to the pasha congratulating him on his new post and at the same time asking him to protect our property.

I am also writing to inform you, as I did in the other letters, that in the month of July, Joseph of Van, a well-known Englishman or Frenchman, arrived here with either his two friends or servants and asked permission to cross the border to seek an audience with the

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<sup>1</sup> Father Hayrapet was a member of the Three Churches Monastery in Diadin.

<sup>2</sup> Hovhannēs and Nersēs were both senior members of the Etchmiadzin brotherhood. Hovhannēs, who became the head of the Armenian Church in Georgia, was elected catholicos in 1831. Nersēs of Ashtarak gained great influence in the Holy See and in 1814 left Etchmiadzin for Tiflis, where he openly advocated the Russian conquest of eastern Armenia. He was instrumental in creating an Armenian volunteer force which fought on the side Russia in the Second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828). In 1824 he founded the Nersessian Academy in Tiflis, an institution which produced an entire cadre of Armenian intellectual and political leaders throughout the nineteenth century. Nersēs was elected catholicos in 1843.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 533), 272.

<sup>4</sup> Khamur was a fort in the Agri-Dagh range, northwest of Lake Van in the vicinity of Lake Bingöl.

<sup>5</sup> The Persian administration had divided eastern Armenia into *khanates*, ruled by *khans*; the Ottomans had divided western Armenia into administrative units called *pashaliks*, governed by *pashas*.

shah<sup>1</sup> in Erevan. The local military commander forbade it. He killed Joseph and put the other two in a dungeon. They are still alive. The blind khan of Nakhichevan, Kalb 'Alī, and Dawit' have written to Yusuf Pasha to release them and to dispatch them to the shah of Persia. I think he will do so.

In the month of August our unfortunate bishop wrote to me that he was feeling better and had managed to attend services every Saturday and Sunday. He was very worried, however, about the fate of our Holy See, which has been so devastated and faces such an uncertain future. Please inform us of your health and remember us in your blessings.

## 78

*Armenian Church Leaders in Georgia to Vice-Chancellor Kurakin*  
(24 October 1802)<sup>2</sup>

The kindness of His Imperial Majesty, Alexander Pavlovich, to our nation and our Church, as well as your attention to our affairs has enabled us to move from the age of darkness into the era of light and from the clutches of death to life. It is natural, therefore, that we feel eternal gratitude and pray for you and His Highness....

There are, however, certain individuals who verbally and in writing are attempting to turn you against us. One such person is Gregory Chernets of St. Petersburg, who is the cause of evil deeds. He has repeatedly written to his accomplices here, in particular to Solomon Argutinskii, that if Archbishop Ep'rem or Minas and Hovakim Lazarev or someone else writes of the confirmation of Daniēl as catholicos they should not believe them, for the letters are forged; they should remain steadfast in their love and loyalty to Dawit'; no one can remove him from his position. He has thus caused dissent among the Armenian people and its clergy and has spread mistrust of the Russian state. He has also written to the khan of Erevan and to Dawit', who

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<sup>1</sup> The shah in question was Fath 'Alī, who in 1802, in response to the Russian annexation of Georgia, had arrived with his army in Erevan, the center of Persian forces in Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> AVPR, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 185, ff. 181-183.

has usurped the Holy See of Etchmiadzin. Such criminal behavior of one monk has blackened the reputation of an entire nation....

We, therefore, beseech in the name of God that Your Excellency examine the situation and ascertain if he [Chernets] can be stopped by law or if his audacity can be restrained at your insistence so that various communities here can finally attain peace and justice and praise His Imperial Majesty....

igned and sealed by Archbishop Sargis of the Haghpāt monastery and Tiflis; Bishop Hovhannēs from Etchmiadzin; Vardapet Ghazar of Etchmiadzin; Hovhannēs, Martiros, Harut'iwn and Mesrop, priests of the Armenian Cathedral [in Tiflis]; Aṛak'el Hamazean, archpriest of the Armenian Cathedral; Hakob; Hovsēp' Gurkhaean; Esayi Baghdasarean; Khach'atur Harut'iwnian; Hovhannēs Khatisean, Hovsēp' Muntoev, Agha and Esayi Fitoev; archpriest of the new Armenian Church Hakob and priests of that church, Awet'is, Gabriēl, Movses, Harut'iwn, and Grigor; archpriests and priests Step'an Simēon, Hovhannēs, Khach'atur, Gabriēl, and Movses; Reokal Birtuelean, nobleman from Lori; Grigor Kepinov, Baghdasar Hovhannēsean, Mik'ayēl of Moghni, Harut'iwn Sargisean, Bēzhan Osipov, and Moses Chavrov.

## 79

*Vardapet Manuēl<sup>1</sup> to Archbishop Ep'rem and Minas Lazarev*  
(28 October 1802)<sup>2</sup>

Your Excellency archbishop and your honorable sir, you, who after God, God's appointed monarch, and their representative at the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, have been our patrons....

In his letter of 13 August, His Excellency the vice-chancellor [Kurakin] firmly promised that if we forgave the two guilty persons and others who had conspired against the election [of Daniēl], the matter would be resolved. We accepted the decision of our mighty and benevolent Russian government, which remains always in our prayers.

But woe be upon us! Archbishop Martiros of Smyrna, Prelate Step'an of Georgia, and Archbishop Step'anos, together with their supporters, have met with Gēorg Agaekov<sup>3</sup> at his inn, where they have decided to undermine our lengthy efforts and the sacred rights of our people. It is possible that this may, in fact, end the life of the catholicos. Gēorg and the two Step'ans have gathered 300 sacks of Dutch and Venetian coins transferred to Constantinople by Karno Hajji Baba, to be used by these slanderers. When they learned from your envoy [Tamara?] that he had been ordered not to help them or anyone else in this matter, they decided to enlist the support of certain high-ranking officials. We have learned that with the help of these mercenary officials, on 21 October, without the consent of our people, they have driven our patriarch<sup>4</sup> out of the city and taken him to Üç-Kilisa [in Diadin], from whence they have forcibly taken him and the catholicos

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<sup>1</sup> Manuēl Giwmushkhanets'i (Altunian) was, for some time, the head of the Armenian communities in Grigoriopol' and the Crimea. He was responsible for opening Armenian schools there. He wrote a number of historical-literary works and retired as a monk at the monastery at Lake Sevan.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 195, ff. 188-189.

<sup>3</sup> An Armenian merchant from the Crimea, who worked at the Russian embassy in Constantinople and who was an ardent supporter of Dawit's.

<sup>4</sup> Grigor IV was appointed patriarch of Constantinople until October 1802, when, because of his support for Daniēl, he was driven out of office by Dawit's advocates. They tried to bring Patriarch Hovhannēs of Baiburt, who was aligned with Dawit', back to power.



[Daniël] to Dawit' at Etchmiadzin. The clergy have been ordered to cease mentioning the name of Daniël during Mass and to substitute that of the rejected Dawit'. The previous patriarch, Hovhannēs has been sent to Tokat [and will soon arrive in Constantinople] as the new patriarch. We had repeatedly asked the envoy to respect our wishes and that of Russia regarding Daniël, to send Martiros and Step'an away from here, but he was harsh with us and refused to act --hence the current situation.

If anyone from here writes that the Armenian people do not wish Daniël as their catholicos and that is the main reason that the Porte has refused to officially recognize him, do not believe it, for it is false. I have in my possession a petition with a list of names which has been sent to me by Archbishop Galust<sup>1</sup> from Adrianople, in which the spokesmen of the entire community have signed and sealed their sworn allegiance to Daniël. Support us for the sake of God, our Church, and the Great Russian Empire.

I would like to come personally and deliver the lists and petitions and hope that you can facilitate my crossing your borders.

The Georgian prelate Step'an and Archbishop Step'anos are, until the arrival of the patriarch, masters here. For God's sake, do not refuse to act on our behalf, surrendering us to the daggers of our sworn enemies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Galust was an important member of the brotherhood at Etchmiadzin. He was first in Constantinople as the *nuirak* of the Holy See. He was then appointed the archbishop of the Armenian community at Adrianople.

<sup>2</sup> On 1 November 1802, the Armenians of Constantinople wrote to Minas and Hovakim Lazarev, repeating the details of the kidnapping and charging that the Russian envoy was very partial. They also stated that Manuël, fearing for his life, was on his way with the necessary documents, using the pseudonym Karapet and a different route. They warned the Lazarev brothers that Grigor Chernets had written to Archbishop Step'anos to gather 40 signatures and other documents in support of their illegal actions so that he could present them to Ep'rem, the Lazarevs, and the Russian administration, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 195, ff. 198-199. On 10 December, Ep'rem wrote letters to Vorontsov and Lashkarev, explaining the situation in Constantinople and asking that Russia continue its support of Daniël, *ibid.*, file 185, ff. 202, 204-205. On 29 December, Ep'rem wrote to Vorontsov that Manuël had arrived in St. Petersburg with the necessary papers from Constantinople, *ibid.*, f. 243. On 24 January 1803, Ep'rem wrote: "To Tsar Alexander Supreme Majesty, August Emperor! The Armenian people are grateful from the bottom of their hearts for Your

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kindness demonstrated on their behalf when during Your coronation in Moscow You confirmed Daniël as the catholicos and saved a Christian Church from falling into despair. I and two of my colleagues were present when You signed the confirmation. What good is all this, when it is already two years that two individuals, both Armenians, I am ashamed to admit, one Vardapet Grigor who resides here [in Russia], and the other an Armenian living in Constantinople, originally from the Crimea, Gëorg Agakov, are doing everything to go against Your Majesty's wishes. They have bribed the Turkish officials and have received a different confirmation from the Porte, one which does not accept Daniël. They have forwarded it to Etchmiadzin, where the illegal one is using it to legitimize his usurpation. Upon the death of Catholicos Hovsēp', all the bishops of the Araratian See gathered and elected Daniël as the next catholicos. Two archbishops were sent to invite him to come and be consecrated with the holy *muṛon*. Bishop Dawit' was himself one of the archbishops, who on 20 March 1801, headed the delegation. But he had other plans and with the help of the khan of Erevan, he has seized Daniël in Bayazid, has ascended the throne of Holy Etchmiadzin, and has been consecrated," *ibid.*, ff. 68-69. In January 1803, Vorontsov wrote to Tsar Alexander and Kochubei affirming the importance of continued Russian support of Daniël, *ibid.*, ff. 172, 237-238.

**II**  
**(December 1802-January 1806)**

**80**  
***Prince Tsitsianov<sup>1</sup> to General Lazarev***  
**(15 December 1802)<sup>2</sup>**

I have received the report from 3 December referring to the letter from the Armenian archbishop, Hovhannēs, in Tiflis. It seems that the pasha of Bayazid, in order to ingratiate himself with the khan of Erevan, has surrendered the Armenian Catholicos Daniēl to the khan, who promptly dispatched him to Etchmiadzin to Dawit<sup>4</sup>, Daniēl's enemy.

I propose that you first find out if the above is accurate; if it is, write to the khan of Erevan that he is responsible for the life of Catholicos Daniēl and he is answerable for all the insult and suffering endured by the catholicos. A simple written or oral response from the khan will not suffice; it is too late for excuses. The khan will find himself subject to the justifiable anger of His Imperial Majesty. His Imperial Majesty has given me unlimited authority in this matter and I shall exercise it upon my arrival in Tiflis.

**81**  
***General Lazarev to Prince Tsitsianov***  
**(24 December 1802)<sup>3</sup>**

In executing the order in your communiqué of 15 December, I sent messages to the khan of Erevan to ascertain the facts about Catholicos

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Dmitrievich Tsitsianov was appointed administrator in chief of the Caucasus in September 1802. A member of the Russianized Georgian noble family of Tsitsishvili, he viewed the Armenians, and especially the Muslims as inferior and treated them with contempt. His aggressive policy began the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia. He was treacherously killed outside Baku in 1806.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 534), 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 535), 273-274.

Daniël's presence in his domain. I have now learned that it is true that the pasha of Bayazid surrendered Catholicos Daniël, who was staying at the Uzkalis (Üç-Kilisa) monastery to his enemy, pseudo-catholicos Dawit', in Etchmiadzin. Archbishop Hovhannēs informs me that the particulars are common knowledge among the Armenians in Tiflis. The archbishop also informs me that he received an edict from Catholicos Daniël addressed to His Highness, which he has sent to St. Petersburg to Archbishop Ep'rem, Prelate of All Armenians in Russia, in which the catholicos describes his unfortunate circumstances and warns us not to believe the false deposition presented by Dawit', his enemy, to the Sublime Porte. With the help of Archbishop Grigor, who is now in St. Petersburg, Dawit' has justified his usurpation of the Holy See by stating that Daniël voluntarily came to Etchmiadzin to offer his repentance to Dawit'. It is obvious that Dawit''s actions have the full support of the khan of Erevan, who has received lavish gifts from the treasury of the monastery of Etchmiadzin.

I have sent the following command to the khan, a copy of which I have the honor of sending you.

## 82

*General Lazarev to Moḥammad Khan of Erevan*  
(23 December 1802)<sup>1</sup>

To Moḥammad Khan of Erevan<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant General Prince Paul Dmitrievich Tsitsianov, governor-general of Astrakhan, inspector of the Caucasian Line, and administrator in chief of Georgia, holder of many medals and honors, has instructed me to inform you that it is now a fact that the catholicos of All the Armenians, Daniël, who was confirmed in his position by His Imperial Majesty, was forcefully taken from the monastery of Üç-Kilise to Etchmiadzin, on the implausible pretext that he voluntarily came to express his repentance to Dawit', the usurper. Catholicos

<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1802), file 21, ff. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Lazarev, unlike the diplomats in St. Petersburg, does not flatter the khan with titles. This was indicative of the general contempt felt by some Russians for the khans of the Caucasus.

Daniël is now within your territory. At Etchmiadzin he is not accorded the respect and deference due his rank. Hence by the order of His Excellency, the administrator in chief of Georgia, Prince Tsitsianov, I inform your honor that you are responsible for the life of Catholicos Daniël and will answer for all the insults he is suffering. Simple written or oral responses will not suffice. If the catholicos is not released you shall face the wrath of His Imperial Majesty, under the weight of which you will repent. His Excellency the administrator in chief, has also instructed me to tell you that he has the complete trust of His Majesty and has complete freedom to deal with the situation as he sees fit, which he will exercise upon his imminent arrival in Tiflis....

## 83

*Kazakh Armenians to Apollo Musin-Pushkin*(3 January 1803)<sup>1</sup>

When Your Excellency resided in the house of Prince Argutinskii<sup>2</sup> you promised us that we would not have to continue working as laborers for low pay and that we would be relieved in six months. That time has already passed and we request that you relieve us from this work. If you do not do so we will be forced to disperse on our own and stop performing this work. Our numbers, originally five hundred households, have dwindled to one hundred and fifty because of harsh working conditions. We have worked all year in the production of charcoal but have received only half a year's pay. The state is ordering us to pay taxes for the entire year. We request that you exempt us from paying taxes for the period for which we were not paid.

Written at the request of the Kazakh Armenians by Iosif Kananov.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 48, f. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to Solomon Argutinskii, the nephew of Archbishop Argutinskii, the *mourav* of Lori, who had a residence in Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> A similar letter was sent by the Greek workers in the copper works of Alaverdi, *ibid.*, f. 21. On 13 January, Kovalenskii wrote to Musin-Pushkin that the Armenian miners were exempt from paying taxes for the year 1802, *ibid.*, ff. 26-27.

## 84

*General Lazarev to Prince Tsitsianov*(5 January 1803)<sup>1</sup>

Moḥammad Khan of Erevan sent an envoy, Moḥammad 'Alī Beg, with gifts, which I refused to accept. Yesterday morning, my close confidant informed me that the envoy from Erevan met with the aqalars<sup>2</sup> of Pambak and told them that I had refused the gifts because the khan would not bow to His Majesty's will. Hearing this, the treasurer of Tiflis, the Armenian Bektbekov, who is an ardent supporter of pseudo-catholikos Dawit', invited the envoy, the aqalars, as well as the envoy from Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi to his house. Pretending to speak for the government, he told them that I had no power and that His Majesty did not pay any attention to my reports. The above was confirmed by Naqī Beg, one of the *aqalars*, who is devoted to me.

## 85

*General Lazarev to Prince Tsitsianov*(9 January 1803)<sup>3</sup>

I have received a report from Colonel Liakhov<sup>4</sup> that between 31 December and 3 January, some one hundred of the households that had left the villages of Shamshadil and taken refuge with the khan of Ganja, had returned. Many others are planning to return, as well. Among the first group were two Armenians, who during questioning explained that they were originally from the village of Churtnochi (?), in Shamshadil, and had gone to Ganja to earn a living. They told me that all the Armenians of Ganja are impatiently waiting for the Russian army and are tired of being oppressed by Muslim law and by the khan of Ganja. They implied that all we have to do to enter Ganja is to make an incursion into Shamkhor, which has approximately ten border guards.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1210), 607-608.

<sup>2</sup> Head or elder of a village or a city quarter.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1168), 587.

<sup>4</sup> Liakhov was the commander of the Russian troops in Shamshadil.

## 86

*Prince Tsitsianov to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*(15 January 1803)<sup>1</sup>

A trusted source has informed me that recently an envoy from Prince Alexander has secretly met with Queen Daria (Darejan)<sup>2</sup> and has informed her that the prince has been very well received by the Lesghian elders of Jar. They have given their word that after the *nowrūz* (the Persian New Year), which is usually on 10 March,<sup>3</sup> they will launch an attack on Kakhet'i in large numbers. The Muslims of Kazakh and the Kazi (Kazi-Kumuk) have promised not to resist them. The same source has informed me that there are, here in Tiflis, two Armenian priests, followers of Patriarch Dawit', who have apparently written to an unknown person in Russia and have received a reply that His Majesty has confirmed Dawit' and not Daniēl as the new catholicos. They, together with Bektabekov, have written to the khan of Erevan that this information was communicated to the khan's envoy, Moḥammad 'Alī Beg, when he was in Tiflis. My own envoy to the khan of Erevan, Tomas Orbelianov (Tamaz Orbeliani),<sup>4</sup> has not yet returned.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 57, ff. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Wife of Erekle II, Darejan was exiled by Tsitsianov to Russia in October 1803.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian New Year is on the first day of spring, March 21 (which was March 10, according to the Russian calendar).

<sup>4</sup> Tamaz Orbeliani had the post of *išk-āğāsī* (chamberlain) at the court of the last two kings of Georgia. He was sent by Tsitsianov to the khan of Erevan to inform him that Russia recognized Daniēl as the rightful catholicos. On 11 January he wrote to Lazarev that he was poorly received by the khan.

<sup>5</sup> On 16 January Orbelianov wrote to Tsitsianov that he had relayed the Russian warning to the khan of Erevan, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 57, f. 13.

## 87

*Prince Tsitsianov to Moḥammad Khan*(6 February 1803)<sup>1</sup>

Arriving here as the administrator in chief of Georgia, I consider it appropriate to inform you of my settling in this city [Tiflis] and to assure you of my steadfast and warm friendship. As an ally of Russia, whose protection has been advantageous to Your Honor, you will, I am sure, fulfill the decree of Prince Vorontsov, the chief chancellor of His Imperial Majesty, and myself, as their representative, in recognizing Daniēl as the Armenian catholicos, confirmed by the Emperor of All Russias, as well as by the great sultan. I am sure that Your Honor in proving your devotion to the Russian Court, will do everything in your power to carry out the wishes of these two rulers, one in the east and the other in the west. Your positive action will put an end to all the ugly rumors spread by those who wish you harm....<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1214), 609, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 58, f. 395. On 7 February, Tsitsianov wrote a similar letter to Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan, *ibid.*, f. 396. The khan of Nakhichevan sent a letter with Melik Markar, via Bishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis, that he was so tired of the Persians that even if they were gods he would not bow to them. He added that after all his services they had blinded him. He was now ready to serve the emperor. He ended his letter stating that he was ordered to take Catholicos Daniēl to the monastery of John the Baptist in Nakhichevan, *AKAK*, II (doc. 1271), 634. Another Armenian, Martiros, reported in February that Moḥammad Khan, Ĵa'far-qolī Khan, and Kalb 'Alī Khan were asked by the shah to present themselves in Tehran. They feared for their lives and had corresponded with Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi about joining Russia.

<sup>2</sup> On the same day Tsitsianov sent a letter to Catholicos Daniēl, assuring him of Russian protection, *ibid.*, (doc. 536), 274, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 47, ff. 3-4. On 8 February, Tsitsianov wrote to the pasha of Kars, affirming Russia's friendship (in the event of war with the khans of Erevan and Nakhichevan), *ibid.*, f. 397 and in *AKAK*, II (doc. 1846), 903. On 20 February, Tsitsianov informed Tsar Alexander of the situation in Etchmiadzin, *ibid.*, (doc. 537), 274-275.



## 88

*Armenians of Upper Shulaver to Prince Tsitsianov*(6 February 1803)<sup>1</sup>

Our entire group emigrated from Ganja to Georgia and for some years, under his kind protection, we served King Erekle. Following the invasion of Āğā Moḥammad Khan, who took captive five hundred of our people, we were reduced to poverty. King Giorgi, realizing our predicament, demanded that only twenty-five of us work in the mines and workshops. After the death of King Giorgi, however, Solomon Argutinskii personally demanded forty workers. By his order our *kalantar* (mayor) was placed under guard and King Giorgi's document, specifying only twenty-five workers per week, was taken from him....

In addition, there is another matter which directly concerns your administration. There are one hundred fifty Russian soldiers billeted with us. We request that in exchange for serving them, you give us an official document stating that no one should disturb us and that we are exempt from any work obligation....

Written by Iosif Kananov.

## 89

*Prince Tsitsianov to Captain Chuiko*<sup>2</sup>(9 February 1803)<sup>3</sup>

You are to accompany Tomas Orbelianov on his mission to the khan of Erevan. He has my letters, as well as those of Chancellor Vorontsov, to the khans of Erevan and Nakhichevan regarding the reinstatement of Daniēl as catholicos. I am enclosing copies of those letters and instruct you to make it clear to them that these are His Majesty's wishes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 48, f. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Chuiko had the position of quartermaster. He accompanied Orbelianov to Erevan.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1215), 609-610; *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 42, f. 29.

<sup>4</sup> On 28 February Tsitsianov wrote a personal message to the khan of Erevan inviting him to become an ally of Russia, *ibid.*, record group 2 (1803) file 58, ff. 399-400.

While there, you are to make other careful observations. Note the strong and weak parts of the fortress of Erevan. Check the condition of the road from Tiflis to Erevan. Do all this very discreetly and try to draw it on paper. This is necessary in case the khan of Erevan remains unmoved, as well as for our future plans. I have instructed Staff Captain Kalantaev to draw 100 silver rubles from the treasury for your travel expenses.

## 90

*Report by the Supervisor of the Alaverdi Copper Works*<sup>1</sup>  
(18 February 1803)<sup>2</sup>

Documents presented by Count Musin-Pushkin, demonstrate that, according to the decrees of the late Kings, Erekle and Giorgi, the communities below contributed each month the following workers for the charcoal production in Alaverdi: 100 men from Kazakh (for whom I gave the necessary papers to Prince Chavchavadze, their overlord), 40 from Shulaver, 10 from Uzunlar and Disig, 10 from Shinakh, 2 from Haghat, and 20 from Melik Abov's subjects. However, since there is a need for another 100 men each month, I have ordered that the surrounding communities contribute the following: 45 men from Pambak and Lori, 8 from Shinakh, 6 from Uzunlar and Disig, 12 from Protombek, 7 from Shamkhor, 5 from Irvani, 5 from Marts (which is close to Uzunlar), and 12 from Melik Abov. Our mining commission has decided that the above be sent each month, without interruption, to the mines or to wherever they are ordered. Their salaries are to be regulated and reported to the commission headed by Musin-Pushkin, through me. The following conditions apply:

1. The factories will voluntarily excuse farmers from this work during planting and harvest seasons and will require them to work during winter and summer months when they are free.
2. The salary of the supervisors will be paid from the income generated by charcoal and copper production.
3. Workers will not be responsible for more than one job at a time.

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<sup>1</sup> The Alaverdi copper works consisted of two units: the Alaverdi and the Akht'al. They needed charcoal for their furnaces.

<sup>2</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1803), file 42, ff. 520-23.

4. Half of the workers from each village can be without pack animals; the rest must come with animals.

5. Workers without pack animals must be paid 4.50 rubles each month. Workers with animals must receive 6 rubles each month. Men from the first group must cut six square *sazhen*<sup>1</sup> of firewood each month, those from the second must deliver 60 animal-loads of firewood each for charcoal production. Those who have other duties must work either 12 hours a day (those who came on foot) or 10 hours for those who brought an animal.

6. The commission has the right to requisition workers, for the repair of roads and bridges, from nearby charcoal works, paying them 5 to 10 kopeks each per day, and it has been empowered to use the local militia [to enforce these requisitions].

7. The commission has the power to use the militia to gather all the peasants living near the site of the charcoal production to engage in reforestation and in fighting forest fires. The villagers cannot ask for any payment for these duties.

8. In exchange for provisions and other material sent by the treasury, and until accurate Russian measures are introduced into Georgia, each charcoal station has to pay for each wagon-load of 37 to 40 *pud*,<sup>2</sup> a daily fee of 80 kopeks in silver. The commission has full authority over the production of charcoal and is empowered to employ the local militia to carry out its orders.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Each *sazhen* equals 2.13 meters.

<sup>2</sup> Each *pud* was 16.38 kilograms (36 lbs.).

<sup>3</sup> A report written on 17 March has a complete breakdown of the workers in the two charcoal-producing stations (182 in Alaverdi and 100 in Akht'al). There were 1,650 households around the first station and 270 in the second, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 42, f. 103. A report by Anton Borzunov (11 April), the manager of the two copper works stated that they produced between 5,000 and 6,000 *puds* of copper annually, *ibid.*, record group 2 (1803), file 48, ff. 202-204.

## 91

*Prince Tsitsianov to Apollo Musin-Pushkin*(19 February 1803)<sup>1</sup>

I have examined the documents Your Excellency sent me on the 15th of this month regarding the claims of Melik Jamshid. I am sending them back to you. My research has found the following: 1. The decree granted to him by His Imperial Majesty, Paul Petrovich, mentions that only the area called Khazan is granted in perpetuity; there is no mention of Lori. 2. In the decree granted by the Georgian King, Giorgi, Lori, with its environs, is given to Melik Jamshid for a time, subject to confirmation by the Georgian command. Meanwhile, Lori has been designated as the chief town of the *uezd*,<sup>2</sup> and faces numerous problems. 3. The Borchalu Canal, called Khanager, which is mentioned in the royal decree granted to Melik Jamshid, was given to him temporarily. Once the situation was stabilized, he was to receive another canal in its place. The canal should be for the benefit of all, not just a few hundred families. The Borchalu Muslims should have access to it as well, otherwise it would create anger that might lead to its destruction. 4. In his petition to Your Excellency, Melik Jamshid claims that his annual expenses are 10,000 rubles, while in his letter to me he states that they are over 6,000 rubles.<sup>3</sup>

My main duty is to guard our treasury and the well-being of Georgia, rather than the pretentious claims, even though humbly presented, of the Armenian meliks....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 42, ff. 105-106.

<sup>2</sup> Lowest administrative division of the Russian Empire, renamed *raion* (district) during the Soviet administration.

<sup>3</sup> Melik Jamshid's expenses are detailed (total of 6,050 rubles) in his letter to Tsitsianov written in March (day unknown), *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 52, ff. 10-11. In the same letter, Melik Jamshid asked Tsitsianov not to limit his jurisdiction over his subjects, *ibid.*, f. 12.

<sup>4</sup> On 20 February, the head of the Lori militia, Gabriel Korganov, informed the Melik Beglar family that they had no rights over the ten Armenian families who had emigrated from Persia, *ibid.*, record group 2 (1803), file 48, f. 511. On 27 February, Melik Jamshid wrote to Tsitsianov explaining that the entire district of Lori and its environs was given to him by royal decrees. He added that the decrees permitted him to have jurisdiction over all Armenians who emigrated from Persia and other lands bordering Georgia, including those from Pambak. Tsitsianov's note on the margin

## 92

*Prince Tsitsianov to Prince Vorontsov*  
(12 March 1803)<sup>1</sup>

After I sent your letter to the khans of Erevan and Nakhichevan concerning Catholicos Daniël, I received a response from the khan of Erevan, on the 7th of this month. The response was unfriendly, cold, and hostile. It seems that the khan will not recognize Daniël and will not surrender our foe, Şerif Pasha of Akhatsikhe, who has gone against the Sublime Porte and has sought refuge with him. I can not exert much pressure on the khan of Erevan, since his wife and children are hostages of Bābā Khan [Fath 'Alī Shah]....I hope that you shall support me in my decision to resolve the problem by force of arms, which I plan to use in April against the khanate of Erevan, the results of which I shall not fail to inform you of the results.

## 93

*Prince Tsitsianov to the Armenians of the Khanate of Erevan*  
(2 April 1803)<sup>2</sup>

To the honorable Melik of Erevan, Abraham, and to all the Armenian inhabitants and clergy of Erevan and its environs.

It has come to my attention that the election of Catholicos Daniël, conducted by the entire Armenian nation and accepted by the two great imperial powers, has been disregarded by some evil persons. I, in carrying out the wishes of my Emperor, Who has ordered the installment of Daniël on the throne of Etchmiadzin, am prepared to use force and to erase His enemies from the face of the earth. I warn you that if anyone harms or insults the catholicos he will be swallowed by the might of our guns and his home demolished. I do not wish you harm and I advise you to save yourselves and accept Daniël as the sole

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reads "Let him submit all the original decrees (with translations) of King Giorgi XIII," *ibid.*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 53, ff. 47-48.

<sup>1</sup>AKAK, II (doc. 1217), 610-611, original in TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1803), file 42, ff. 97-98. On the same day Tsitsianov wrote to Tsar Alexander reiterating the above, AKAK, II (doc. 1216), 610.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, (doc. 538), 275.

catholicos. Otherwise, you and not I will be responsible for your doom....Your khan does not follow your law; he is not a Christian. It is not surprising, therefore, that, influenced by the gold and jewels of Etchmiadzin, he backs the pseudo-Catholicos Dawit' as the head of the Armenian Church. As a Muslim, his duty is to persecute Christians and Dawit' is his tool, while the true catholicos is the victim....As Christians, you will have to give an account to the Heavenly Court, just as Judas had to. Your catholicos may forgive you by saying "Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing," but I will not. You and Moḥammad Khan will pay the price. Like those in Jaro-Belakan,<sup>1</sup> your wealth and houses will fall under our swords and fire....I repeat, do not lose your souls. Do not follow the Muslim but look to the Christian. Give up the tyranny of the former and embrace the latter, for we follow the Holy Gospel. My words are not merely written on paper but are as real as the phases of the moon. Those who tell you that the mighty Russian army will not reach you are mistaken. When we arrive, it will be too late for you to decide and you will be buried in unmarked graves. Make your decision and choose the better course.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to Tsitsianov's campaign against the Lesghians in Jaro-Belakan and its annexation to Georgia in early 1803.

<sup>2</sup> Tsitsianov's ultimatum must have frightened the Armenian leaders of Erevan. On 14 April, Melik Abraham and Gabriël Yüzbaşı wrote to Melik Jamshid asking him to assist in bringing peace between Russia and the Erevan khanate, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 49, f. 36. On May 18 and May 24, they wrote to Archbishop Hovhannēs, the Armenian Prelate of Tiflis, to inform Archbishop Ep'rem, the Prelate of the Russian Armenians, who was in St. Petersburg at the time, that they had not abandoned their Christian faith and had not gone against Russia. Daniël, they asserted, had resigned and Dawit' had taken his place. They hoped that Tsitsianov would spare them when he stormed Erevan, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate (1803), file 14, docs. 63-64. On 29 May, Daniël's allies in the Etchmiadzin Synod informed Archbishop Hovhannēs that Dawit' and his supporters had produced a note from the *amiras* of Constantinople stating that the sultan had written to inform the Russian emperor that the Armenians of Constantinople favor Dawit', *ibid.*, doc. 62a.

## 94

*Prince Tsitsianov to Mehmet Pasha of Kars*(30 April 1803)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian inhabitants of Signaghi have informed me that relatives of theirs, numbering thirty individuals, who were at Kars to trade, were attacked and robbed after leaving the fortress of Kars. They have asked me to assist them in gaining their lost goods. I can not believe that such an occurrence can happen in your province, but they insist that it did take place. I am, therefore, asking you, my dear friend, to look into the matter and, if it be true, to punish those responsible and to return the goods intact. I ask you to aid these merchants and to maintain the friendly relations between our two great states....<sup>2</sup>

## 95

*Tsar Alexander to Prince Tsitsianov*(23 May 1803)<sup>3</sup>

I am certain that you will bring a favorable conclusion to your plan of extending the borders of Our Empire to the Kura and Arax Rivers. After those regions become part of Our Domain, you shall then concentrate your activities on the internal conditions of these districts and its people and help them realize the blessings of living under the protection of law.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 29, f. 418.

<sup>2</sup> On 26 May, Tsitsianov wrote to the pasha complaining that the Turks had not kept their promise to assist the Russian troops in a border clash with the Erevan troops in Shuragol, *AKAK*, II (doc. 1856), 907. On 14 July, Tsitsianov asked the pasha to permit the return of a number of Armenian households belonging to Melik Jamshid, who had emigrated to Kars and who wished to return, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 58, f. 220. On 7 September, Tsitsianov wrote to the pasha complaining that he was not abiding by their agreement to cooperate against Persia, *ibid.*, ff. 316-317.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, file 4, ff. 27-28.

<sup>4</sup> Russian rulers were convinced that they were spreading civilization among "backward Asiatic" peoples.

## 96

*Hovhannēs, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Ambassador Italinskii*<sup>1</sup>  
(26 May 1803)<sup>2</sup>

The past and present sufferings of our nation, following the undignified actions of Archbishop Ep'rem of Astrakhan, are known to you. The situation became worse after our own prelate, Manuēl, joined his ranks.

We, being loyal subjects of our empire [Ottoman], are not permitted to complain about them to His Majesty, the Emperor of All the Russias. Archbishop Ep'rem, however, realizing our predicament, has completely ignored all humanity and continues daily to attack the Holy See and our entire nation.

Our helplessness has forced us to the following action: We have gathered signatures from all the Armenian leaders of the city [Constantinople] and have forwarded them with a formal letter of support [for Dawit'] to the archbishops in Etchmiadzin, a copy of which we are submitting to you. We request that you send it, together with the letter from our holy father, Dawit', to his Imperial Highness. It is the wish of the Armenian people that Catholicos Dawit' remain in office until his death--according to our sacred laws.<sup>3</sup>

## 97

*Prince Tsitsianov to Tsar Alexander*  
(12 June 1803)<sup>4</sup>

Your Majesty's decree signed by Your hand and forwarded to me on the 14 April of this year demonstrates Your Highness's kindness to-

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<sup>1</sup> Andrei Iakovlevich Italinskii (1743-1827) was a doctor, a diplomat, and a member of the Russian Academy. He was the Russian representative in Naples, Constantinople, and Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1802-1803), file 186, ff. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> In June Italinskii wrote to Vorontsov stating that the rich bankers of Constantinople and the entire Armenian community there supported Dawit'. He added that he had copies of their petitions and that in his opinion it would be advantageous for Russia to accept Dawit' as the legitimate catholicos, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1803-1809), file 186, ff. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1803), file 28, f. 149.



ward the Georgian population and has generated grateful responses. As instructed, up to twelve children of Georgian and Armenian nobility who wish to pursue the study of medicine at Moscow University will receive all expenses from the treasury. Georgian princes and nobles, as well as the Armenian meliks, princes, and nobles who reside in Georgia, have asked me to relay their extreme thanks and their eternal loyalty for this sign of Your Imperial graciousness.

## 98

*Prince Tsitsianov to the Armenians of Ganja*  
(30 November 1803)<sup>1</sup>

Having entered Ganja province with the victorious Russian army, I assure all of you in the name of His Imperial Majesty, that if you put yourselves under the protection of His Majesty you and your property will be safe from harm. You shall be free from oppression and shall be rid of the demands of the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> You will be able to go to any part of Georgia and become state peasants. You shall be free from meliks or other landlords.

## 99

*Report Submitted by Prince Tsitsianov*<sup>3</sup>  
(3 January 1804)<sup>4</sup>

The administrator in chief of Georgia, Prince Tsitsianov, in his report on the taking of the fortress of Ganja, requests that his Imperial Highness show favor to two of his [Tsitsianov's] subordinates who commanded two units during the assaults on Ganja: Major-General Portniagin<sup>5</sup> and Colonel Kariagin.

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<sup>1</sup> Issued in Shamkhor, *AKAK*, II (doc. 1174), 590.

<sup>2</sup> Following the fall of Ganja, the family of Ĵavād Khan and some of the Muslim khans became Russian subjects and received annual subsidies, *ibid.*, (doc. 1187), 594.

<sup>3</sup> The report was written by Colonel Vatugin. It was attached to the report by Tsitsianov to the minister of the interior, V. P. Kochubei.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA (1804), file 6170, f. 53.

<sup>5</sup> General Semen Andreevich Portniagin (1764-1827) took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792. He arrived in the Caucasus in 1803 and took part in most battles during the First Russo-Persian War (1804-1813) and the Russo-Turkish War of

To convince the local inhabitants that Ganja will forever remain under the rule of Russia, the administrator in chief deems it useful and imperative that Ganja be given a Russian designation, namely *Elisavetpol'*.<sup>1</sup>

The administrator in chief also wishes to report that Ganja has alum and ironworks, which belong to Armenians and which are run with the usual Asiatic inefficiency.<sup>2</sup>

## 100

*Prince Tsitsianov to Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh*(8 January 1804)<sup>3</sup>

Six days ago I took the fortress of Ganja. Ĵavād Khan, his son, Ĥoseyn-qolī, and one thousand five hundred of his men perished under the fire of the mighty Russian army.... Since you have stated your devotion to us, I am, first, demanding that you return the people and animals belonging to the late Ĵavād Khan who took refuge from Ganja in your province during the war. I also want you to return the animals belonging to the Armenians and Tatars, which were chased to your province [on Ĵavād's orders] so that they would not feed our troops. Second, I demand that you send me the son of Melik Jamshid, Bah-

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1806-1812. After a short period of semi-retirement, he was recalled to duty by Ermolov in 1817 and served as the chief of internal security in the Caucasus.

<sup>1</sup> In honor of the wife of Tsar Alexander I. On 3 March, Tsitsianov proposed that, after 1 April, whoever referred to Ganja in any official correspondence instead of *Elisavetpol'* should be fined 1 ruble, *AKAK*, II (doc. 1194), 597.

<sup>2</sup> The numerous reports on the minerals in Transcaucasia and the correspondence between the Armenian meliks and the Russians can be found in, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1803), file 48, ff. 94-97, 236, 673-674; file 62, ff. 1-5; file 73, ff. 1-2; *AKAK*, II (doc. 384), 205. In addition Tsitsianov wrote to Minister N. P. Rumiantsev recommending that Russia create a customs station on the border of the khanate of Erevan and Georgia, since a good deal of trade passed through there, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1804), file 27, ff. 393-394. On May 10 1804, Tsitsianov wrote to the khan of Erevan and the pasha of Kars to tell them that the town of Kara-Kilisa had, by the order of the tsar, become a custom station and that all trade from Persia and Turkey to Russia via Georgia had to pass through it, *ibid.*, file 78, ff. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1416), 696. On 9 January, Tsitsianov, who was in Ganja, wrote to Moḥammad Ḥasan Khan of Sheki inviting him to submit to Russia or face the fate of Ganja, *ibid.*, (doc. 1277), 636.

ram, and his grandson Astuatsatur. Melik Jamshid is a permanent resident in Georgia and is a subject of His Imperial Majesty. Finally I await your high-placed envoy or one of your sons to negotiate with me....<sup>1</sup>

## 101

*Short Survey of Ganja*(2 March 1804)<sup>2</sup>

City of Ganja: 213 households (Armenian and Muslim)

Armenians in the suburbs: 909 houses<sup>3</sup> (total of 2294 individuals).

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<sup>1</sup> On 14 March, Kariagin reported that Major Lisanevich, who had been dispatched to bring the people and the animals back to Ganja, could not bring the latter, for the flocks had been chased into the mountains. He did, however, bring some two hundred fifty Armenian families who had been taken to Shushi, *ibid.*, (doc. 1418), 696-697. On 26 May, Tsitsianov wrote to Ebrāhīm Khan demanding the return of the people and animals and stated the Russian conditions for the khan's submission, among which were the surrender of the fortress of Shushi and the placement of a Russian garrison there, a loyalty oath to the Tsar, the appointment of some Russian administrators in Karabagh, the sending of his eldest son to Tiflis as a guarantee, and the annual payment of 10,000 (reduced to 8,000 in the final draft) gold rubles. In exchange he and his family would retain their rule of Karabagh, as well as all their private lands and income, *ibid.*, (doc. 1240), 697. The treaty between Russia and Karabagh was signed on 14 May 1805 (*Ṣafar* 1220 *Hijri*). It incorporated the main Russian demands in eleven articles, see *ibid.*, (doc. 1436), 705. On 20 May, the khan of Sheki, Salīm, also submitted to Russia, agreeing to pay 7,000 gold rubles annually, 10,530 *puds* of flour, and some eighty *khalvar* (each *khalvar* equaled 1102.30 lbs.) of millet in exchange for maintaining his position, *ibid.*, (doc. 1438), 707.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (docs. 1190-1193), 596-597, only information relevant to the Armenians is translated here. The report was compiled by Colonel Kariagin. The Muslim population is recorded as 615 households in the suburbs and 520 in 18 villages. The Muslims had 42 villages in Shamshadil. On 16 March, Tsitsianov wrote to Kariagin that he could not believe the low number of Muslims. He added that he had taken 3,120 prisoners and that the number of Muslims, therefore, should be larger. He felt that many had escaped to Karabagh, *ibid.*, (doc. 1196), 599. On 29 May, Tsitsianov reported to the tsar that the total population of Elisavetpol' province right after the invasion had been 10,425 and that in just three months it had risen to 15,092. He added that most of these were Muslims who had escaped to Karabagh. It has to be noted that an undetermined number of the Armenians in Ganja had immigrated there from Karabagh in the previous decade.

<sup>3</sup> The document has 909 houses which is probably an error. The number of Armenian inhabitants suggest between 300 to 350 households.

Possessions: 86 horses and mules, 143 head of cattle, 61 sheep and goats, 268 gardens or orchards. Taxes paid to the khan: 450 measures of wine and 2,900 rubles annually.

Armenians in the villages of Ganja (total of 20 villages): 340 structures (1269 individuals). Possessions: 74 horses and mules, 460 head of cattle, 480 sheep and goats, 34 gardens or orchards, and 232 ploughed fields. Four of the above villages paid their taxes in the form of iron and saltpeter. The rest paid nothing.<sup>1</sup>

Armenians in Shamshadil (2 villages): 50 structures (227 individuals). Possessions: 18 horses and mules, 58 head of cattle, 10 gardens, and 25 ploughed fields. They paid 350 rubles a year to the chief of the Ayrumlu tribe.

Armenians who left Ganja province: 35 households, who paid an annual tax of 313 rubles and 40 kopeks.<sup>2</sup>

### 102

#### *Survey of Artisans in Elisavetpol' (Ganja)*

(23 April 1804)<sup>3</sup>

	Number of shops	Armenian masters	Tatar masters
Silversmiths:	9	6	3
Coppersmiths:	7	7	-
Locksmiths:	7	7	-
Gunsmiths	1	1	-
Blacksmiths	5	2	3
Silk weavers	135	-	135
Silk spinners	20	-	20
Canvas weavers	29	-	29

<sup>1</sup> Either the Armenians little in taxes or, more probably, they did not wish to disclose their tax liability to the new administration.

<sup>2</sup> This seems like a more accurate figure.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1197) 599-600.

Shoemakers	23	15	8
Saddlers	2	1	1
Turners	5	2	3
Carpenters	5	2	3
Brickmakers	7	4	3
Ironers	8	8	-
Tailors	24	22	2
Loom makers	2	1	1
Bridle makers	5	1	4
Pack saddlers	1	1	-
Horseshoers	7	4	3
Wool and Cotton			
weavers	9	-	9
Iuzhniks(?) <sup>1</sup>	2	1	1 <sup>2</sup>

## 103

*From the Diary of Prince Tsitsianov*<sup>3</sup>  
(May-September 1804)<sup>4</sup>

In early May spies reported that Bābā Khan has begun to gather his army in Tabriz for a planned invasion of Georgia. Prince Alexander has assured him that the minute he crosses the Arax, all the Georgian princes and nobles will join them.<sup>5</sup>

In mid-May our spies reported that some Georgian princes and nobles had arrived in Erevan, where they were given letters from Alexander and Bābā Khan to be passed on to the Georgian nobility and the Turkish inhabitants, to encourage them to join the Persian army on

<sup>1</sup> The term *iuzhnik* has not been identified.

<sup>2</sup> In May Kariagin reported that merchants of the city who paid 16,430 rubles to the khan's treasury were now assessed 8,420 rubles by the Russian state.

<sup>3</sup> The diary was written during the campaign against Erevan, which began on 1 July when the Russians left Kara-Kilisa in Pambak and ended on 14 September when they returned to Kara-Kilisa. Material concerning Armenians has been translated here.

<sup>4</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA (1804), file 6166, ff. 83, 90-92, 101-103

<sup>5</sup> On 10 May Tsitsianov, after receiving various reports from Armenian messengers that the khan was ready to submit to Russia [AKAK, II (doc. 1219), 611], wrote to the khan that he would accept his submission providing that Daniël was reinstated as catholicos and that the khan paid an annual tribute of 80,000 rubles to Russia, *ibid.*, (doc. 1224), 613.

arrival and to force us back to Kizliar, where they would annihilate us. Upon receiving this information all the couriers and the letters were intercepted and none reached their destination....

The khan of Erevan, by way of a letter from the Armenian catholicos, Daniël, asked me to halt the bombardment of the fortress of Erevan. He claimed that his soldiers had fired on us without his permission and that he was willing to abide by all our demands save the surrender of the fortress. I did not bother to respond in writing but verbally told his envoy that before any discussions could proceed he had to deliver Catholicos Daniël and Patriarch Dawit', as well as the treasury of Etchmiadzin. In addition, he had to open the city gates to us since he asked for our assistance against the forces of 'Abbās Mīrzā but instead had fired on us. I invited him to relocate to Russia with his movable belongings, where he would be assured of safety. I gave him two hours to respond....

We resumed bombardment of the fortress and the Cossacks and Armenians<sup>1</sup> under the direction of Major Montresor (Montrezor) stopped and crushed a sortie by the Persians who were trying to take flocks of animals out of the fortress to be fed in the hills....

Two Armenians escaped from the fortress [and joined us]....Captain Firsov brought thirteen *arba* (carts) of wheat from Etchmiadzin, Major Levitskii was dispatched to requisition one hundred fifty *chetverts* of wheat from Etchmiadzin. He was ordered to put the head monk under arrest until he revealed the hiding place of their provisions, which according to Armenian informants was substantial....

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<sup>1</sup> The Armenian volunteers belonged to Melik Jamshid, whose cooperation was rewarded by Tsar Alexander and Tsitsianov with a silver sword bearing the inscription "For Loyalty and Zeal," *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1804), file 73 f. 23; file 79, f. 178.

## 104

*Prince Tsitsianov to Apollo Musin-Pushkin*(13 June 1804)<sup>1</sup>

As Your Excellency has been informed by Major Montresor, the two thousand Armenian families, about which I wrote to you in my report, left Erevan for Kars to save themselves from the Persians. I sent the Armenian prelate of Tiflis, Archbishop Hovhannēs, to Pambak to convince them to stay in Pambak until we take Erevan. I have now been informed, however, that many wish to remain in Pambak and do not want to return to Erevan. By the power granted to me by His Imperial Majesty as the administrator in chief of the region, I order that they be settled in Lori [in the Pambak region] and in the areas around the copper works....

## 105

*Report of Lieutenant Pantilimonov*(2 July 1804)<sup>2</sup>

On Your Excellency's order, accompanied by two companies of Saratov musketeers, I went to the Araratian monastery (Etchmiadzin) to request provisions of flour, wheat, and fodder from the religious hierarchy there. I, together with Major Nol'de, arrived there on 28 June and were shown an *anbar* (storage facility), which was a quarter full of flour. We took that and, without weighing, it came to twenty *arba*. They refused to show us any more flour, wheat, or fodder without the written order to Barsegh,<sup>3</sup> the elder in charge of the monastery, from Archbishop Hovhannēs, who is with His Excellency General Prince Tsitsianov. I request that Your Excellency ask Archbishop Hovhannēs to send the necessary instructions to Archbishop Barsegh. As for mills to turn the wheat into flour, they are all broken and their mechanisms looted. After much effort on my part, a mill was found near the for-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 227.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4259/1, f. 4. The report was sent to Commissioner Durnovo, who was in charge of army supplies.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop Barsegh was one of Daniël's supporters. After the death of Daniël in 1808 he became the deputy of Catholicos Ep'rem.

treasury and a mechanism was finally located. I beg that you will not forget to inform me of your decision in this matter.<sup>1</sup>

## 106

*Major Khadzhaev to Prince Tsitsianov*(21 July 1804)<sup>2</sup>

On the night of 21 July the aqalars of Pambak, Nagbek Meglibekov, Ahmet Mahmetov, Abdullah Mama-Alebov and the Georgian prince, Adash Bebuov, with one hundred fifty Tatars, attacked the Armenians from the village of Kukiran who were tending their flocks in the mountains. They killed one and wounded three. They drove off forty bulls, thirteen horses with saddles, one hundred oxen, and five hundred sheep. They also stole personal property worth some four hundred rubles....<sup>3</sup>

## 107

*Major Khadzhaev to Lieutenant General Volkonskii*(24 August 1804)<sup>4</sup>

One hundred and fifty soldiers and one cannon under the command of a major, as well as Melik Abov, with fifty Armenians--one of whom, Anton Hagopov, was wounded--were told by His Excellency General Prince Tsitsianov to return to Kara-Kilisa on the 22nd of this month. They report that upon leaving Erevan they were attacked by five hundred Persians, but they managed to reach Saral, where they came upon Prince Alexander and his troops. The major and a number of soldiers were killed and the rest, as well as the cannon, were captured. Melik Abov is in the hands of the aqalar of Borchalu, Amirjan. On the 21st

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<sup>1</sup> On 8 July, officer Durnovo, who was in charge of supplies for the army, reported to Tsitsianov that flour, wheat, and other provisions had left Etchmiadzin and had reached the army units surrounding Erevan, *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4259/1, ff. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 88.

<sup>3</sup> The report also stated that the village head, Melik Shakarov, together with Russian troops, and Georgian volunteers pursued the attackers, firing over 350 shots and killing 8. The attackers escaped, however, by seeking refuge in the mountains.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4259/1, ff. 53-54.



Prince Alexander proceeded to northern Pambak, where he wrote to Melik Noni Shakarov and the Armenians from 13 villages, who had been gathered there by me, to abandon the Russians. Many were ready to agree, since both they and their flocks were without food. However, I, with the help of Melik Shakarov, convinced them to remain loyal. We opened the granary and gave the Armenians twenty-one *samars* of wheat. We also supplied horses and arms and moved their families into the Kara-Kilisa fort....I have no news of the army or of the situation with provisions. I have sent three Armenians to secretly obtain the necessary information, for the roads are swarming with enemy troops.

## 108

*Catholicos Daniël to Archbishop Hovhannēs*  
(25 November 1804)<sup>1</sup>

From the slave of Christ, Daniël, Catholicos of All Armenians, to our beloved brother, Archbishop Hovhannēs, the Prelate of the Armenians in Tiflis and Elisavetpol'. I and Archbishop Ep'rem appoint you the head of the Armenians of Erevan and the deputy of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin. The brotherhood, that is, all the senior and junior archbishops, bishops, and priests, as well as all others [laymen] should obey you as they would the catholicos....<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1804), file 90, f. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The letter was written in Tabriz. Daniël, during the Russian invasion, had been taken first to Erevan and then across the Arax River to Azerbaijan. Dawit', fearing capture by the Russians, also left Etchmiadzin initially for Erevan and then for Tabriz. The letter must have been secretly passed to a supporter; it had to cross Persian lines to be delivered to Georgia. It reached Tiflis two months later. On 29 August 1805, Tsitsianov issued a decree that designated Hovhannēs as the undisputed head of the Georgian Armenian community, *ibid.*, file 94, ff. 259-260. In December Daniël issued an official statement appointing Hovhannēs as his deputy, and Tsitsianov requested that Tsar Alexander reward the archbishop with a decoration, *ibid.*, file 93, ff. 15-16.

## 109

*Melik Abraham and Yüzbaşı Gabriēl to Prince Tsitsianov*  
(1804)<sup>1</sup>

We, together with two hundred families, have left Erevan and have sought the protection of His Imperial Highness in Kara-Kilisa. There are, however, more than five hundred Armenian families left in Erevan under the unbelieving Persians. They were under guard and could not escape.

Although the new khan<sup>2</sup> wanted to remove all the Armenians into the interior of Persia, as recorded long ago in history books,<sup>3</sup> we were spared that. Our present concern is for those Armenians who have remained in Erevan. Hence, we send our sons to you to tell you that at present the Erevan fortress has few defendants, approximately three thousand. All the inhabitants of the fortress, including all the Tatars, are with us and we assure you that if your troops approach Erevan they would have no problem taking it. The situation is desperate, for on the twelfth of this month four Armenian families were brought to the khan, who without any evidence or trial had their heads cut off and their property distributed among the Persians. We tried to deter such acts but the khan ignored us. We beg Your Excellency to come to our aid; we throw ourselves at your feet and hope that your fame and glory will increase by your action....

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1205), 604.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abbās Mīrzā, tired of Moḥammad Khan's dealings, replaced him with Pīr-qolī Khan Qajar, according to Chopin, or by Maḥdī-qolī Khan Qajar, according to Hakobyan and Hedāyat. Maḥdī-qolī was himself replaced by Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe a year later. I. Chopin (Shopen), *Istoricheskii pamiatnik sostoianīia Armianskoi Oblasti...* (St. Petersburg, 1852), p. 167; T'. Hakobyan, *Erevani patmut'hyunē, 1801-1879* (Erevan, 1959), p. 15; R. Hedāyat, *Rowzat al-Ṣafā-ye Nāṣerī*, IX (Tehran, 1960), 408-409.

<sup>3</sup> Refers to the forced migration of Armenians by Shah 'Abbās in the beginning of the 17th century.

## 110

*Archbishop Sargis Hasan Jalalean to Prince Tsitsianov*  
(January 1805)<sup>1</sup>

From earliest times to the present, Armenians have regarded the Archbishop of Haghpat as the senior of all [Armenian] clerics [in Georgia]. Except for a small number who are under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin, he is the primate of all the Armenians living in Georgia. He has decrees to this effect from the Armenian and Georgian religious hierarchy, as well as from the kings of Georgia. In 1786, my brother Hovhannēs,<sup>2</sup> the catholicos of Gandzasar, joined our meliks and asked for Russian protection. They corresponded with Prince Potemkin, but when their letters were intercepted by Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi, Hovhannēs was killed and I was put in jail. I escaped from prison to Elisavetpol' and from there to Georgia. King Giorgi appointed me the archbishop of Haghpat monastery and presented me with a decree that recognized me as the head of the Armenian community [of Georgia].<sup>3</sup> After your arrival, I and my people, as requested, took an oath of allegiance to the Russian Empire.<sup>4</sup>

## 111

*Counselor Lashkarev to Prince Vorontsov*  
(5 February 1805)<sup>5</sup>

The Armenian archbishop, Ep'rem, who was here on 1 February, informed me that he has received letters from Georgia, as well as from the Erevan province, in which the condition of Catholicos Daniēl is described. The catholicos is well but still in confinement on the orders of the usurper Dawit'. He states that although he is a senior archbishop, he does not mind his humble quarters for he takes his strength

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<sup>1</sup> The day is not indicated. *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 91, f. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicos Hovhannēs Hasan-Jalalean.

<sup>3</sup> Sargis claimed that after 1804 he also represented the Armenians of Ganja.

<sup>4</sup> On 11 February, Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis wrote to Tsitsianov to ask him to restore the right of Etchmiadzin (which he represented) to collect dues from the Armenians in Georgia and Ganja, *ibid.*, file 90, ff. 108-109.

<sup>5</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1805), file 185, ff. 265-267.

from the support of His Imperial Majesty, who will eventually restore him to his rightful place. He thinks, however, that his life is not safe....The khan is unreliable and his demands are taking a toll on Etchmiadzin, which is in danger as long as the situation continues.<sup>1</sup> He hopes that His Majesty, his sole supporter, deems it appropriate to free him. He would [even] agree to live in Tiflis, under His Majesty's protection. It is my opinion that if we can manage to do this, our Empire will benefit from this action. His upkeep will not cost us anything and we will attract Armenians currently living in Persia, Turkey, and India to settle in our Empire....

## 112

*Prince Tsitsianov to the State Mining Commission*(10 February 1805)<sup>2</sup>

I commend the actions of the commission, whose report I examined last year. I agree that in many cases the commission had to take a firm stand against local officials and question traditional behavior or customs. I cannot accept, however, the action toward the Armenians and Tatars under the jurisdiction of Meliks Fıreydun and Abov Beglarov. The commission is at fault for its coercive behavior. I shall ask the governor of Georgia<sup>3</sup> to examine the criminal behavior of the commission employees and to report to me.

## 113

*Archbishop Hovhannēs to Prince Tsitsianov*(11 February 1805)<sup>4</sup>

Last year when I was at Elisavetpol', Your Excellency, in Tiflis, stopped our rights to collect dues for Etchmiadzin from Christian [Armenian] merchants bringing goods to Georgia. The money is now

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<sup>1</sup> Dawit's bribes to the khans of Erevan were, according to some sources, responsible for bankrupting Etchmiadzin.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 94, f. 35.

<sup>3</sup> State Counselor Tarasov was appointed brigadier and governor of Georgia by Tsitsianov in 1804.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, file 90, f. 108.

taken by the [Russian] treasury. Our right had been acknowledged by the Georgian kings and had continued uninterrupted until last year. We have written a number of petitions and have not received any response. We have been asked to produce documents, but as Your Excellency is aware, most of us left everything behind and sought the protection of His Imperial Majesty. Documents and witnesses cannot be produced at this time. As you know Etchmiadzin is in dire financial condition and I request that you permit us for the time being to keep the funds and not to deliver them to the treasury until such time when we can produce the necessary documentation....

## 114

*Melik Sahak<sup>1</sup> to Prince Tsitsianov*  
(24 February 1805)<sup>2</sup>

I have previously asked, through Archbishop Hovhannēs, that Your Excellency provide us with the uninhabited village of Tsintskhor (Tsintskar), which belongs to the treasury. Planting time is upon us and it will give the Armenians who came with us from Erevan an incentive to work together. It will also prevent those who have relatives in Erevan from returning there. Furthermore, it will give me an opportunity to observe them and to direct their work. I have nowhere to go and am ready to serve Your Excellency....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Melik Sahak Aghamalean (d. 1834), the son of Melik Abraham, had come to Georgia with his father. He must have returned to Erevan after 1807, for he became the head of the Armenians of Erevan and cooperated closely with Hōseyn-qolī Khan, sardar of Erevan. His daughter was married to Prince Alexander of Georgia. In the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828, however, he helped the Russians, for which he was appointed as a member of the ruling council of the Armenian province. He received the income from the villages of Elar and Arzakend in the Kirk Bulagh *maḥal*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 183. Original in Georgian.

<sup>3</sup> Tsitsianov wrote the following note at the bottom of the letter, "Instruct Police Chief, Captain Serebriakov, to gather without delay those Armenians who arrived in 1804, and not earlier, in Tsintskhor." A day later Tsitsianov sent the letter to Serebriakov, *ibid.*, file 94, f. 50.

## 115

*Prince Tsitsianov to Tsar Alexander*(28 February 1805)<sup>1</sup>

The unfortunate Catholicos Daniël has written to the Armenian bishop of Tiflis, Hovhannēs, and has appointed him the head of the Armenians in this region. The bishop, who is devoted to Russia, helped the departure of some 11,100 Armenian families from the Erevan region to Georgia [during the retreat of the Russians]. I hope that Your Majesty will approve of his appointment, so that until the return of the rightful catholicos, he can administer the affairs of the Armenians [in Transcaucasia]....I request that Your Highness permit me to present him with the *panagia* of a bishop. Frankly I do not anticipate that more than 1,000 of the above families will wish to return to Kırk-Bulagh when we, with the help of God, take Erevan.<sup>2</sup>

## 116

*Prince Beburov<sup>3</sup> to General Nesvetaev<sup>4</sup>*(13 March 1805)<sup>5</sup>

His Excellency Prince Tsitsianov sent me to Kars to arrange for the return of the [Armenian] inhabitants of Pambak. I request, therefore, that you halt the relocation of the [Armenian] inhabitants of the highlands to Hamamlu, which will be soon repopulated by its original inhabitants. I request that their houses be safeguarded until their return.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 541), 276.

<sup>2</sup> On 29 April, the tsar sent his approval, *ibid.*, (doc. 542), 276.

<sup>3</sup> Prince Adam Beburov was the commandant of Kara-Kilisa.

<sup>4</sup> Major General Peter Danilovich Nesvetaev (d. 1808), commander of the Saratov Infantry. He occupied Etchmiadzin in 1805 and also took part in battles around Gumri and Arpachay, which resulted in the annexation of Shuragol to Georgia.

<sup>5</sup> TSGIA-Grúz, record group 2 (1805) file 89, f. 244.

<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants in question were Armenians who had fled the war zone. Those in the highlands were also Armenians who wished to be closer to Russian troops and away from warring Muslim lords Kara Moḥammad (son of Budagh Sultan of Artik) and Jahāngir Beg (a follower of Ĵ'afar-qolī Khan of Kōi) on one side and Raḥīm Beg on the other. When the former group came to terms with the Russians, the latter, who did not accept Russian rule fled to Kars. Nesvetaev demanded that the pasha of Kars hand Raḥīm Beg over. His refusal threatened to cause trouble between the pasha and

## 117

*General Nesvetaev to Prince Tsitsianov*  
(26 April 1805)<sup>1</sup>

The military commander of Pambak, Prince Orbelianov, in his report to me has also asked me to examine the demand of the Brigadier of Georgia, Tarasov, that two hundred seventy Armenians from Pambak who are fit to work in the mines be sent there without delay. The time for this is not suitable, for I am preparing to march on the Erevan province and the district will be left without the necessary number of troops. There are only a total of five hundred suitable male workers here, hence to send the required amount would leave the Armenian villages unprotected in case of dangerous attacks. I have, therefore, refused to grant the request until I return from the campaign, at which time they will be sent to the factories....<sup>2</sup>

## 118

*Contract Between the Armenians of Zaglik and  
the Russian Administration in Georgia*<sup>3</sup>  
(29 April 1805)<sup>4</sup>

## Contract

On 15 April 1805, by the order of the administrator in chief of Georgia, General of Infantry and holder of various medals, His Excellency, Prince P. D. Tsitsianov, I, Colonel Kariagin, cavalier and commander

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Tsitsianov. But Tsitsianov's death ended the episode; for more details see *ibid.*, ff. 243, 245, 247 and *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4259/II, 1805, ff. 34-35.

<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1805), file 89, f. 222.

<sup>2</sup> On 12 May, Tsitsianov wrote to Nesvetaev that he had no right to intrude in state affairs. The Armenians had a contract with the management of the mines and Tarasov was just following the orders of the Russian state, *ibid.*, file 94, f. 178. On June 11, Tsitsianov wrote to Chief Engineer Borzunov that the copper from the Alaverdi and Akht'al works was of inferior quality. No one in Tiflis was buying it and the treasury was losing money, *ibid.*, f. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Tsitsianov had instructed Colonel Kariagin that since Jāvād Khan farmed out the alum works of Zaglik for 1,000 rubles annually, he would instruct the treasury to pay that sum to the Elisavetpol' administration in exchange for receiving the same amount of alum from the Armenians, *ibid.*, f. 166

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 168.

of the 17th Jäger Regiment, concluded a contract with the Armenians of the village of Zaglik, namely Yüzbaşı Bebo and his associates Grigor Baltalov, Harutiun Egorov, Arakel Durumov, Khatchatur Malakanov, Vardan Melikov, Arakel Abovov, Ghazar Akhtakov, Harutiun Chalaktarov, Sargis Chobanov, Hagob Aydanov, David Dereraev, and Vardan Kolichev, stating that from April 15 1805, to the same date in 1806 they agree to the following: 1. Using their own equipment, they will deliver the best-quality alum to the treasury for 80 silver kopeks per *pud*. 2. If anyone is caught selling alum to others, he will be fined 25 silver kopeks per *pud*, as well as being subject to corporal punishment. 3. The Armenians mentioned above are obliged to supply the treasury with an annual output of 2,000 *pud* or 10,000 Tiflis liters of weight. 4. After handing over the alum to the treasury and recording it every month, the commandant of Elisavetpol' will receive the allocated funds. 5. This contract, signed by both sides and affixed with the seal of the treasury, will be in full force for the duration.<sup>1</sup>

## 119

*Prince Tsitsianov to Colonel Kariagin*(30 April 1805)<sup>2</sup>

Upon examination of the financial records, I have found that the village of Bayan, which consists of fifty households, is engaged in the production of iron and paid the late Jāvād Khan an annual subsidy. I, therefore, order that the Armenians of Bayan pay our treasury 10 *puds* of finished iron per month from each household, for a total of 500 *puds* each month....

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<sup>1</sup> On 17 May the inhabitants of Zaglik asked the treasury to pay them for the alum, for which they had not been paid since 12 March, and for the upkeep of eleven soldiers and their officer, *ibid.*, file 90, f. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, file 94, f. 168.



## 120

*General Nesvetaev to Prince Tsitsianov*(5 May-28 August 1805)<sup>1</sup>

We have occupied Etchmiadzin. The religious hierarchy, the prisoners of war, and the inhabitants of the twelve surrounding villages have all sworn a loyalty oath to His Imperial Majesty. I submit a list of their names, prepared by quartermaster Major General Matushevich....

On the third of this month, the inhabitants of Shuragol and Gumri transferred their grain, half of which was allocated to the treasury, to the Talin stronghold. In the stronghold of Goteli, I assured the Armenian units that there would be reinforcements from Erevan. The inhabitants of the stronghold of Gechili opened their doors upon the approach of our forces and guns. Here we found some 410 Armenians from the villages of Mastara and Gechili, who had taken refuge there with their belongings and 650 animals....Some Armenians who were to be forcibly taken to Erevan from Etchmiadzin sent word to me, and I rescued them by sending our Cossack unit under the command of Ageev. I already have more than 500 families of Armenians and on the fifth, 100 more families joined us from the village of Aghavnatun....

The prisoners of war and the inhabitants of the twelve Armenian villages, which are Etchmiadzin, Mastara, Gechili, Kurdugul, Mulla-Bayazid, Akhdzharkh, Eyatzkh, Aghavnatun, Franganots, Albeglu, Tuakhs, and Ashtarak, with their livestock and other movable property, are under the protection of a detachment of sixty grenadiers with small firearms, fifty Cossacks under the command of Staff Captain Skul'skii, and one hundred fifty cavalry troops from Borchalu. Tatar units under the command of Prince Eristov left here on May 8th and went to the Shuragol district via Talin to Artik. On the same day, after

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<sup>1</sup> After his retreat from Erevan, Tsitsianov's strategy was to gradually extend Russian control over the northern districts of the khanate of Erevan bordering Pambak. At the beginning of May 1805 small contingents of Russian troops began to make encroachments into lower Pambak, Talin, Shuragol, and even occupied Etchmiadzin. Although by July of that year the Persian army had forced the Russians out of Etchmiadzin, Tsitsianov kept control of parts of Shuragol and Talin, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Russian command of Kara-Kilisa. The above is a selection from the reports in *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4259/II (1805), ff. 61-149. After the death of Tsitsianov the Russians pulled out of Talin, but kept Shuragol.

Catholicos Dawit' refused to leave Erevan and present himself at Etchmiadzin, I ordered that part of his property, which was packed by him to be transferred to Erevan and which contained relics, including the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side<sup>1</sup> and the hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator, be taken into custody and await Your Excellency's instruction as to its disposal....

I have two engineers, with the rank of lieutenant, who have drawn plans for a road from Pambak to Etchmiadzin, through Artik and Talin. Such a road should serve us well in our future expeditions against Erevan province....

The Armenian [units] are surrendering in large numbers, most of them without provisions. I am sending them to Pambak and Shuragol districts. I have asked Major General Portniagin to take care of their needs. The Tatars in their rush to escape have taken all provisions from the countryside and have run to Nakhichevan....

From the Armenians of the Erevan province who came into our territory, I have left 92 families from Ashtarak with their livestock in the Shuragol district. Thirty-eight families have requested to be sent to Tiflis [see below]. Sixty-two families from the village of Mastara have also requested to be sent to Tiflis. Eighteen families from the Armenians of Gaitakh, 11 from Aghavnatun, 21 from Franganots, 18 from Tuakhs, for a total of 68 families, have stayed in Kara-Kilisa. Seven families from Gechili, 26 from Mulla-Bayazid, 41 from Kurdugul, 18 from Akhdzharkh, 5 from Albeglu, for a total of 97 families, went to the *kishlak* [*qešlāq*-winter quarter of nomads] of Idarbas. Altogether 357 families, plus some 200 who had submitted earlier, have been relocated to Shuragol and Pambak. Most of them have been robbed by the Tatars and required provisions....

Archbishop Step'anos Kochur[ean] and Vardapet Hovhannēs of Karbi,<sup>2</sup> who have sworn a loyalty oath to his Imperial Majesty, together with those 38 Armenian families who voluntarily left Etchmiadzin, have been granted my permission to travel to Tiflis....

I have received Your Excellency's instructions. Reports have reached me that your advance on Karabagh has forced Prince 'Abbās

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<sup>1</sup> See *John* 19:34.

<sup>2</sup> The future Catholicos Hovhannēs VIII of Karbi (1831-1842).

Mirzā<sup>1</sup> to retreat from his march on Artik. Pīr-qolī Khan and the blind Kalb 'Alī Khan have once again entered Erevan, which, except for its inhabitants, had no forces. I have learned that they are planning to remove the khan of Erevan and send all the Armenians of that city to the shah [in Tabriz]....<sup>2</sup>

The settlement of Gumri, which is strategically located on the road between Kars and Talin, has been bolstered with a Simonovskii battalion. It should have been strengthened some time ago, but due to lack of forces, it was not. The pasha of Kars has written to me that he has gathered all the inhabitants of Pambak and awaits my order to send them back. As it happens, since Major General Matushevich was, by Your Excellency's order, on his way to occupy the Shuragol province, I had Prince Orbelianov accompany him to arrange the return of the Armenians. If the pasha of Kars does not go back on his word once again, then the Pambak inhabitants will return to the Hamamlu village....

Ĵa'far-qolī Khan [of Kōi] and his Kurds have refused to join the Persian army. He has secretly written to me and has confirmed his loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. I agree with him that we must take the stronghold of Talin and reinforce it. It lies between Somkhet'i, Pambak, Shuragol, and Aparan and we should occupy it....

On 18 June, Major Nol'de, who commands our forces in Artik, informed me that a spy he had sent to Erevan had returned and had a letter from Moḥammad Khan of Erevan. The khan has reiterated his loyalty to the Emperor and has apologized for his mistakes. He is willing to send his nephew and other high-ranking officials as hostages and is prepared to surrender the city to us. He claims that although Maḥdī-qolī Khan is in charge of the fortress, his forces are small and the population of the city is loyal to Russia....

I received Your Excellency's order of 13 June and report that the harvesting of wheat in Pambak, under the direction of Prince Orbelianov, and in Shuragol, under the direction of Sultan Hamo Beg, will

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<sup>1</sup> The term in the document is *shahzadeh* (prince). Ironically Russian sources called him prince (probably they respected his military leadership), while they insist on calling his father Bābā Khan.

<sup>2</sup> An obvious slip, since the entire document refers to Bābā Khan, but here the title of shah is used.

proceed as planned. However, I must inform Your Excellency that their wheat will be ready for harvesting in mid-July. In the Talin region, wheat harvesting is earlier and should begin in the next ten days. Most of the inhabitants of Talin have been driven south by the Persian army, but they have informed me that the forces of Erevan are not large and that Mahdī-qolī Khan does not have the loyalty of the population. There are barely 4,000 troops in that city, half infantry, half cavalry. The khan has arrested many of the elders and the rest are under guard. They are ready to return to Talin and assure us that most of the population of Erevan is waiting for Your Excellency's return. There is no news of the Persian army of Bābā Khan....

The pasha of Kars has once again fooled us and has not returned the inhabitants of Pambak. He has continued his intrigues against us and has kept up his ties with the Persians. He has told the khan of Erevan that he is ready to send his forces to Artik and to drive us out of there. He will then keep the Pambak farmers and send Erevan 2000 *samar* of wheat. I am confident, however, that our defenses in Artik will be able to hold against any attempt from the pasha of Kars....

Two hundred Armenian families from Erevan under the leadership of Gabriēl Yüzbaşı, as well as the melik of Erevan and his followers, will be settled soon in Pambak. Twenty-four of these families, together with the melik and the yüzbaşı, will go to Tiflis, where they have relatives....<sup>1</sup>

## 121

*Prince Tsitsianov to the Armenians of Transcaucasia*  
(19 May 1805)<sup>2</sup>

To the meliks, village elders, priests, and all high- or low-ranking [Armenian] inhabitants of the five melikdoms of Karabagh, Shemakha Nukha, Baku, and Derbent.

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<sup>1</sup> On 15 August, Nesvetaev wrote to Portniagin that Yüzbaşı Gabriēl had arrived in Pambak. Tsitsianov had instructed Nesvetaev to send scouts to find out what direction the other Armenians of Erevan were coming from so that a Russian military escort could go inside the khanate--no deeper than 20 *versts*--and see to their safe transport to the Pambak region, *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4259/II, f. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 94, f. 183.

In the past you obeyed the Holy See of Aghuank' [Gandzasar] and delivered the income of your churches to it. His Imperial Majesty has decreed that from now on you should obey the Holy See of Etchmiadzin and its rightful catholicos, Daniēl, who has sole authority over the Armenian Church in all matters. Without the permission of the catholicos no one can issue orders in your communities.

## 122

*Prince Tsitsianov to General Portniagin*(23 May 1805)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian archbishop, Hovhannēs, will be carrying the Holy Lance from here to Tiflis in a ceremonial procession. You are charged with transporting the items taken from Etchmiadzin. You should make a list, in the presence of the archbishop, and send it, notarized, to me. The items from the sacristy should be sent to Kalantaev, a state official in charge of the treasury [in Tiflis]. The relics and icons should be entrusted to the archbishop [Hovhannēs] and be kept by the [Armenian Church] hierarchy.<sup>2</sup>

## 123

*Tsitsianov's Proclamation to the Armenians of Karabagh*(15 June 1805)<sup>3</sup>

Is it possible that you, Armenians of Karabagh, known for your bravery, do not wish to follow your illustrious Ebrāhīm Khan, who has become a subject of His Majesty? You would demonstrate your bravery by joining the army of the Emperor and not, like other Armenians, being concerned only with trade....Join the great Russian army, known for its bravery, and together we shall fight the Persians who are threatening Karabagh. We will provide you with arms and equipment to join the forces of Colonel Kariagin. Demonstrate that you are the same brave Armenians who in the past intimidated the Persian cavalry.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 184.

<sup>2</sup> See document 124.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1714), 833.

## 124

*Prince Tsitsianov to Tsar Alexander*(17 June 1805)<sup>1</sup>

During our return from Erevan, we took from the monastery of Etchmiadzin rare icons, relics, and vestries, all covered in precious stones. These items were packed and stood ready to be taken to Turkey by pseudo-Catholicos Dawit'. The bishops of Etchmiadzin requested General Nesvetaev to rescue the treasury and the relics, which included the spear used on Christ and the hand of St. Gregory, the illuminator of the Armenian nation. The items were taken to Tiflis, where the spear and relics were received with great ceremony by the Armenian clergy of Tiflis. General Portniagin has been commissioned to make a complete inventory of the treasury.<sup>2</sup> These items have great significance for the Armenians and I have assured them that they will be stored and guarded until, with God's help, the rightful catholicos shall ascend the throne, or until Etchmiadzin comes under Russian rule....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 543), 276-277.

<sup>2</sup> The complete list compiled by Portniagin is in *ibid.*, (doc. 544), 277-278. It included *Miters*: One catholicos's miter sewn with gold on brocade with pearls, emeralds and two large rubies. One emerald and several small pearls missing. Three bishop's miters--the first, on brocade with pearls and lined with golden and silver sparkle; the second, on brocade with pearls and semiprecious stones, with one stone and a few pearls missing; the third, on brocade with pearls and semiprecious stones, with the brocade threadbare and dull in sections and some small pearls missing. *Chasubles*: twenty-one bishop's chasubles--fourteen made of brocade, five made of damask, one from a Turkish material, and one from satin. *Altar coverings*--one made of satin with gold threads and one of brocade with a silk lining. Numerous slippers, belts, caps, cloaks, staffs, chalices, two hundred different crosses, chains, silver plates, spoons, and utensils totaling some 2 *puds*, plus 104 various relics, including a piece of the True Cross. An itemized list was prepared on 9 September 1811 when plans for their return to Etchmiadzin were being finalized, see *TSGVIA*, record group VUA (1811), file 6195, ff. 10-23.

<sup>3</sup> On 13 September, Dawit' petitioned the tsar to return the items to Etchmiadzin. He insisted that he was the rightful catholicos and had the decrees to prove it. He added that during the Russian invasion he was forcibly taken to the fortress of Erevan and had hidden the treasury in a safe place at Etchmiadzin. Upon his return he had been told that the Russians had not only taken most of the monastery's provisions, which they were welcome to as Christians, but that Nesvetaev had also taken the

## 125

*General Portniagin to Prince Tsitsianov*(23 June 1805)<sup>1</sup>

On the eighteenth of this month representatives of the inhabitants of Urmiye, who resemble the Armenians in their faith<sup>2</sup> and who had contacts with Major General Nesvetaev, presented themselves to me. Matus Gevargisov, Shemasha Gevargisov, and Petros Israel, informed me that they are under the rule of the Persian khan, Hoseyn-qolī, who, fearful of the Russian advance on Erevan, which is only 360 *versts* from Urmiye, has begun to take hostages from among them. They decided to write a letter secretly to Your Excellency, asking for protection. The three men carried that letter but were seized by Süleyman Aga in Kars, who subjected them to bastinado before letting them cross into Artik where they found us....

## 126

*General Portniagin to Prince Tsitsianov*(25 June 1805)<sup>3</sup>

On the 23rd of this month, Asatur Agisov, an Armenian from Erevan, arrived and reported that Mahdī-qolī Khan had come with 3,000 troops from Persia, had entered the fortress of Erevan, and had put Moḥammad Khan and his family under arrest....

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treasury, including the robes and items used in the Mass, to Russia. He added that Etchmiadzin now lacked the basic items for the Mass, *AKAK*, II (doc. 545), 278-279.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1251), 625.

<sup>2</sup> The Christian inhabitants of Urmiye consisted of Armenians and the so-called "Assyrians (Ašūrīān)," who were in fact East Syrian Christians. The two groups lived close to each other and occasionally intermarried. The petitioners in this document are not Armenian but belong to the latter group, which was incorrectly labeled Assyrian by the Anglican mission in Syria and especially by the missionary W. A. Wigram. For more details see, R. Macuch, "Assyrians in Iran," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II, 817-824. On 3 October, the leader of the Assyrians, Yunis, and their religious head Maryukhan (Marshumun), wrote to Tsitsianov to permit them to immigrate to Russia, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1805), file 90, f. 161.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1252), 625.

## 127

*Prince Tsitsianov to Adam Czartoryski*<sup>1</sup>(1 July 1805)<sup>2</sup>

One of the important pieces of news that I have the honor to give Your Excellency is that Mahdī-qolī Khan, of the Qajar clan, who was sent with three thousand troops to strengthen the fortress of Erevan has now occupied it--although spies tell us he has not more than two thousand men. He has arrested Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, has put him under guard, and has confiscated all his belongings, which, as usual, will be sent to the treasury in Tehran. Apparently Moḥammad Khan was unfaithful to both sides. The new khan is planning to move the Armenians of Erevan across the Arax. If, God willing, I succeeded in driving Bābā Khan out of Karabagh, I will then try to move these Armenians to Georgia, where they have expressed a desire to settle.

## 128

*Prince Tsitsianov to Melik Rushan*(2 July 1805)<sup>3</sup>

I am aware that you<sup>4</sup> wrote to Major General Prince Viazemskii and promised to aid us with your cavalry. Knowing your wish, I permit you to join Colonel Kariagin's forces. News has reached me today that indicates that you already have managed to reach Kariagin at the fortress of Shah Bulagh<sup>5</sup> and have brought livestock. If we are indeed

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Jerzy (Iurii Chartoryiskii) Czartoryski was a Polish prince and a friend of Tsar Alexander I. In 1804 he was appointed minister of foreign affairs.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1253), 625.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1727), 836.

<sup>4</sup> Melik Rushan must not have been an important melik, since Tsitsianov uses the very informal "ty," which was used to address low subordinates.

<sup>5</sup> The Shah Bulagh or Shah Bulaghi fortress was located in the Jāvānšīr (Javanshir) district, northwest of the city of Aghdam. It was built in the highlands near a tributary of the Khachen River by Panāh Khan, the father of Ebrāhīm Khan, in ca. 1753-1755, during his rise to power in Karabagh. Colonels Kariagin and Kotliarevskii took the fortress with the help of the Armenians of Karabagh but had to withdraw to Ganja after three days. For details see G. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh: An Annotated Translation of Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi's Tarikh-e Qarabagh* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1994), pp. 56, 115, 118-119.



fortunate and you have managed to do so, I assure you that you shall be decorated by His Imperial Majesty beyond your expectations. If you have not succeeded, it is now time for you to try your best to do so. I am sure that when the colonel receives his provisions in the fortress, then even one hundred bābā khans<sup>1</sup> will not succeed in taking it.

## 129

*Prince Tsitsianov to Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis*  
(17 July 1805)<sup>2</sup>

I have received the report and letter from Major General Nesvetaev in which he responds to the slanderous accusations against him. I am sending you a copy of the letter, which will undoubtedly demonstrate to you, as it did to me, that the blame lies with your religious elders and not with him. I have known him for more than fifteen years and have complete trust in him. The report also indicates that Patriarch Dawit' has already returned to Etchmiadzin and has taken four relics and some other items, which had been seized by Mahdī-qolī Khan.

## 130

*Tsitsianov to the Georgian Civilian Administration*<sup>3</sup>  
(12 August 1805)<sup>4</sup>

The minister of finance, Alexei Ivanovich Vasil'ev, wrote to me on 22 May (communiqué no. 570) about His Imperial Majesty's response to my inquiry regarding the deed of sale given by Melik Jamshid to the Georgian mining commission. As neither the son nor the grandson of Shamir Aqa, who owned this land prior to the Russian annexation and its grant to Melik Jamshid, have appeared and no one has documented their whereabouts or established if indeed they are alive, they have lost

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<sup>1</sup> Lower-case in the original, a definite sign of contempt.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 94, f. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Although the Caucasus and Transcaucasia were military zones, some areas, including the mines and religious affairs, were under the supervision of a civilian administrator. Occasionally there was conflict between what the military administration granted to the local population and the demands of the civil authority. The final word was with the administrator in chief, in other words, the military.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 402), 214.

their title to the said property. There is, therefore, no objection to Melik Jamshid selling the property to the Georgian mining commission.

## 131

*Prince Tsitsianov to Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis*(13 August 1805)<sup>1</sup>

‘Abbās Mīrzā, as you already know, convinced the Tatars of Elisavetpol’ to go against us and to join him. His main objective was to weaken the defenses of the fortress of Elisavetpol’. Although four hundred Tatar households have already returned to their domiciles, the city has many empty houses that I want to be occupied. Since I know your wish to quickly relocate the Armenians of Erevan, I am prepared to give each Armenian family a house, garden, and a field to plow on the outskirts of town. However, these Armenians cannot belong to the clergy or be of melik or yūzbaşı families. They have to be ordinary free peasants, like those from the village of Eghvard, for example. They can settle on the outskirts of the city and they will be exempt from taxes and services for three years. After that they will be liable for the usual *obrok*.<sup>2</sup> Please do not resettle them yet, however, since they can still plant and harvest their fall crops and thus have a supply of food and seed for next year [when they arrive at Elisavetpol’].<sup>3</sup>

## 132

*Yūzbaşı Gabriēl to Prince Tsitsianov*(15 August 1805)<sup>4</sup>

Reports from Erevan state that: 1) ‘Abbās Mīrzā arrived in Erevan with 15,000 troops, 400 wounded, and many dead. 2) He brought

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1255), 626.

<sup>2</sup> There were two basic obligations for peasants in Russia: *barshchina*, or *corvée*, and *obrok*, or quitrent, a payment in kind or money to the state or landlord.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop Hovhannēs wrote to Tsitsianov on 24 August, that some fifty to sixty households were ready to settle in Elisavetpol’, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1805), file 110, f. 290. On 30 October, Tsitsianov informed Portniagin that the sixty families from the district of Avlabar in Erevan were to be settled in Elisavetpol’, *ibid.*, file 94, f. 287.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1256), 626-627.

some citizens of Ganja with him but sent them back soon after. 3) He left for Nakhichevan, where he was to stay for a few days. 4) He left Mahdī-qolī Khan in the fortress of Erevan. The blind Kalb 'Alī Khan and Prince Alexander, as well as 3,000 troops (most of whom are infantry), are in the fortress. 5) He took Moḥammad Khan and his family with him. 6) Mahdī-qolī Khan has no provisions in the fortress and has difficulty obtaining provisions from outside; his troops are not obeying him. Erevan is vulnerable and if you send me at the head of troops, the fortress shall open its doors. Kalb 'Alī Khan has promised me he would cooperate, if His Imperial Majesty appoints him once more the governor of Nakhichevan, after the region becomes part of Russia.

'Abbās Mīrzā has no respect for Prince Alexander and has left him without any subsidy. Although Alexander wishes to come to you he is afraid and wants to be assured of your favorable welcome.

The godless Dawit' is in the fortress and wants to save himself. If you accept him he would also come. I, with my more than 200 families have arrived in Kara-Kilisa. Melik Abraham and his followers are also planning to seek refuge here today or tomorrow. Mahdī-qolī Khan is planning to move all the Armenians to Tehran. The Tatars are also ready to join us. In the meantime, since all our grain was taken by the Persians into the fortress, I request that you allot us a village in Pambak....

### 133

#### *Armenians of Erevan to Melik Abraham and Yüzbaşı Gabriēl*

(21 August 1805)<sup>1</sup>

'We need your immediate help, otherwise in ten days' time they plan to take one thousand Armenian families into the fortress. Kalb 'Alī Khan wants you to inform him when of you and your forces will arrive, so that he can take his people and all of us away from Erevan and join you. If we do not act, we shall end up with Moḥammad Khan in the fortress. News has arrived that 'Abbās Mīrzā is in Tabriz and that the shah is either close by or still in Tehran. Some of the Armenian villag-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1258), 627.

ers, as well as Tatars, have escaped to Turkey. The rest have barricaded themselves in their villages and await your arrival....

## 134

*Prince Tsitsianov to General Nesvetaev*(24 August 1805)<sup>1</sup>

I am forwarding a copy of a report submitted to me by the governor of Georgia, Tarasov. It consists of a petition by the [Armenian] inhabitants of Kara-Kilisa<sup>2</sup> in which they complain about the oppressive behavior of the military, including the taking of 154 *samar* of wheat by Major Alexander [Rebinder]. I would like you to investigate the facts and report to me without delay.<sup>3</sup>

## 135

*Prince Tsitsianov to Melik Abraham and Yüzbaşı Gabriēl*(26 August 1805)<sup>4</sup>

I have received your letter and here is my response:

Unreliable Armenians with Persian souls--You may for now eat our bread, hoping that you may purchase it. But if by next fall your people have not planted enough grain to have a surplus for sale, then be warned that by spring I shall chase you not only to Erevan but to Persia. Georgia is not required to feed parasites. As to your request to save the Armenians of Erevan, who are dying in the hands of unbe-

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 90, f. 248.

<sup>2</sup> The original Armenian petition (no date) is in *ibid.*, f. 234.

<sup>3</sup> On 16 October, Nesvetaev responded with a long report, *ibid.* file 89, ff. 229-232. It contained two interviews with members of the Armenian community. The first, recorded on 30 September, had sworn statements from twelve Armenians who had submitted the original complaint: Yavri Krikorov, Azaria Arutunov, Zurab Arutunov, Simon Mkhitarov, Anton Davidov, Osep Shahnazarov, Sargis Bablov, Arakel Babasov, Akob Kirakosov, Martiros Ghabakov, Ato Khachikov, Kochar Oskanov. They attested that hay, grain, and even animals were taken by the officers of the Saratov Musketeer division, especially by Major Alexander Rebinder. The second affidavit, taken on 4 October, was from Sahak, the head of the village of Pambak, who had written the original complaint for the plaintiffs. Both statements were witnessed by Major Burtsov and Captain Dakudovskii.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, II (doc. 1259), 627-628.

lievers: Do traitors deserve protection? Let them die like dogs; they deserve it. Last year when I surrounded the Erevan fortress, the Armenians of Erevan, who do not deserve even a grain of pity, were in control of Narin-kale. They could have surrendered it to me but did not, and you, *yüzbaşı*, being the main advisor of Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, was in league with them and helped the khan in his intrigues and lies against me. Now you have fled, and God has punished you for betraying the favors of His Imperial Majesty. Do you think I am like other generals, who do not realize that Armenians and Tatars are willing to sacrifice thousands for their own benefit? That you would lie about your cooperation in the surrender of Erevan, as you did to General Nesvetaev? Do you, therefore, think that I can rely on the word of two *yüzbaşı*s and Persians, who promise to surrender the fortress upon the appearance of Russian forces? Do you think I will send troops where there is no grain? Or do you think that 300 families of cowardly Armenians can stand against 3,000 Persian troops in the fortress? Is it possible that you are trying to endear yourselves to the new khan of Erevan? Do not wait for Russian troops; I know the crafty Persians, and I shall take the Erevan fortress in good time. Here, therefore, is my answer: Live in peace and plough your fields.<sup>1</sup>

## 136

*Prince Tsitsianov to the Georgian Civilian Administration*  
(29 August 1805)<sup>2</sup>

I am forwarding the decree signed by His Imperial Majesty, which was sent to me, and in which Archbishop Hovhannēs is appointed as the religious head of the Armenians of Georgia, until the return of

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<sup>1</sup> On 7 September, Nesvetaev reported to Tsitsianov that food in Erevan was scarce and that the Armenian and Tatar inhabitants were apparently rebelling against the Persians. Kalb 'Alī Khan was thrown out of the fortress by the khan of Erevan and had gone to Nakhichevan. He echoed the rumors that the population was ready to hand the fortress to the Russians, *ibid.*, (doc. 1261), 628-629. Tsitsianov responded on 29 October that even if the rumors were true he could not spare any troops, for he was on his way to Shirvan and Baku. He suggested that Nesvetaev keep in contact with Ĵa'far-qolī Khan of Mākū and the pasha of Kars. He added that he would move on Erevan after subduing Shirvan and Baku, *ibid.*, (doc. 1263), 629.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1805), file 94, f. 260.

Catholicos Daniël to the throne of Etchmiadzin. I suggest that you translate it into Armenian and publicize it all over Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

## 137

*Prince Tsitsianov to General Nesvetaev*

(16 October 1805)<sup>2</sup>

I have just received new information from our minister in Constantinople, Italinskii. Apparently, the French emissary, Jaubert,<sup>3</sup> who was reported to have returned to Paris after visiting Constantinople, was not spotted at the border. Instead he surfaced in Varna, where he disguised himself in Turkish clothes and took a ship for Sinope or some other convenient shelter. I can not rely on Ĵa'far-qolī Khan to catch him. Either the khan is a coward or his subordinates are.<sup>4</sup> We have to take our own measures: Choose from among trusted people, such as the Armenians, arm them, and in the guise of merchants--since they are always traveling as such--send them on the road to Bayazid and other places where you think Jaubert may pass. Let them discreetly inquire about the Frenchman. Since the Armenians, because of their stupidity, will be looking for a man dressed in French clothing, explain to them that Jaubert is traveling incognito. Tell them that if they capture and deliver him to me they will receive 2,000 silver rubles.

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<sup>1</sup> The same day, Tsitsianov wrote to Archbishop Hovhannēs informing him of his religious supremacy over the Armenians in Georgia, *ibid.*, f. 259. In an undated letter, Catholicos Daniël appointed Hovhannēs as his deputy in Etchmiadzin, *ibid.*, file 93, f. 16. Tsitsianov also wrote (undated) to Tsar Alexander to decorate Archbishop Hovhannēs for his services to Russia, *ibid.*, f. 15.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1812), p. 888, original in TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1805), file 96, f. 478.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre-Amédée Emilien-Probe Jaubert, French officer and orientalist, was sent by Napoleon to Turkey and Persia in 1805-1806. He was temporarily arrested in Turkey but was soon released and managed to reach Tehran. In Persia he discussed a Franco-Persian alliance with Fath 'Alī Shah, which was eventually formalized at Finkenstein in 1807.

<sup>4</sup> Situated in Ķoi, Ĵa'far-qolī had the opportunity of seizing anyone who crossed into Persia from Turkey.

## 138

*General Nesvetaev to Prince Tsitsianov*  
(11 December 1805)<sup>1</sup>

An Armenian named Kochar, whom I sent to Bayazid as an informant three months ago, has submitted a report in which he states that the Armenians of Bayazid, who number more than ten thousand, have orally assured him that once we occupy the Erevan fortress, they will become Russian subjects and move to the province of Erevan. [Ibrahim], the brother of the pasha of Bayazid, is now in charge, although he has not yet received the confirmation decree from the sultan. He has informed me that if he is not confirmed, he is willing to accept our authority and give us 1,000 *samar* of wheat once we occupy Erevan. The Armenians report that although they are ready to throw off the Muslim yoke, they are afraid to do so, in fear of retaliation, until our forces are in Erevan. The Armenian agent also reports that the late pasha [Mehmet] had arrested the French spies and was planning to put them to death, when he died.<sup>2</sup> His son, who succeeded him, planned to carry out his father's wishes, when he, too, died unexpectedly. The brother of the late pasha decided to release the Frenchmen from the dark dungeon of the old fortress and to move them into an apartment, where they are under guard.<sup>3</sup> Their Armenian interpreter, Hovsēp', however, was killed. The Armenians of Mākū have also told Kochar that if we occupy Erevan, they will hand over the fortress of Mākū and become our subjects.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1265), 631.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to Jaubert and his party.

<sup>3</sup> Fath 'Alī Shah sent an angry letter to the new pasha, asking him to release the French envoy and to send him to Persia. Jaubert was released and escorted to the Persian border, from where he was taken with great honor and ceremony to Tehran.

<sup>4</sup> Both Bayazid and Mākū, part of historic eastern Armenia, are within a short distance from Erevan.

## 139

*Prince Tsitsianov to General Nesvetaev*(10 January 1806)<sup>1</sup>

I forwarded your report and the good news of the [death of] French general Jaubert to His Imperial Majesty. Now, I have to submit the unsavory report that the Frenchman lives, under guard.<sup>2</sup> I request that from now on you *verify the trustworthiness* [emphasis in the original] of all your reports before submitting them....As to the report of the Armenian Kochar regarding the ten thousand Armenians of Bayazid who wish to settle in Erevan: I have to make it clear that even if the Erevan province was ours,<sup>3</sup> my plan is to relocate the Armenians to Georgia and not to Erevan. Erevan is too close to Persia. It would be difficult to force the Armenians to properly obey us, and they could escape to or have contacts across the Arax. Thus if the Armenians of Bayazid do not wish to relocate to Georgia, they can stay where they are....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, II (doc. 1267), 632.

<sup>2</sup> On 10 January, Tsitsianov also wrote to Budagh Sultan of Shuragol. Budagh had submitted to Russia in 1805. His district had joined Georgia and he was decorated, received a pension from the tsar, and was permitted to keep his personal estates in Artik. Tsitsianov asked Budagh Sultan to demonstrate his loyalty to Russia by convincing his acquaintance, the new pasha of Bayazid, to ignore the demands of Fath 'Alī Shah and to hand over Jaubert in exchange for 500 to 1,000 gold rubles, *ibid.*, (doc. 1145), 578. Ibrahim Pasha wrote to Constantinople for advice and was told to hand the French envoys to Yusuf Pasha of Erzerum, who sent them to Persia via Van. On 8 July, an Armenian informant, Andrei Arshakov, wrote to Nesvetaev that the envoys told Fath 'Alī Shah that if he permitted the French fleet to come to the Persian coast, Napoleon would help the Persians throw the Russians out of Georgia. Nesvetaev then wrote to Ibrahim Pasha asking him to arrest the envoys on their way back to Constantinople and to hand them over to General Glazenap, see *ibid.*, III (doc. 782), 416-417, original in TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4259, ff. 291-292.

<sup>3</sup> In a separate report dated the same day, Tsitsianov informed Nesvetaev that once Baku was taken he would return to Georgia and prepare a new assault on Erevan. He was killed outside Baku in February 1806.

<sup>4</sup> A large number of Armenians from Bayazid relocated to the Erevan province after the Russian conquest in 1828; two hundred fifty-eight households settled in Nor (New) or Novo-Bayazit (Gavar) near Lake Sevan, see G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1992), p. 227.



III  
(May 1806-March 1809)

140

*Melik Jamshid to General Nesvetaev*  
(May 1806)<sup>1</sup>

‘Abbās Mīrzā is waiting in Ardabīl, and Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe is camped with a strong force on the banks of the Arax. I have heard that ‘Abbās Mīrzā is planning to cross the bridge [Kodā-Āfarīn] into Karabagh on the twelfth of this month. Karabagh is under the protection of His Majesty and I request that you send additional troops to fight off the Persians, or else this year’s grain will be lost and our Russian troops will have nothing to eat. The new war with Persia will take place on two fronts: Karabagh and Erevan. The Karabagh front will receive the brunt of the attack, hence the Russian forces here have to be ready.... ‘Aṭā Khan of Shirvan and Moṣṭafā Khan have gotten together and are planning to join Hoseyn-qolī Khan of Baku or Sheikh ‘Alī Khan on the bank of the Kura River, where they shall meet the forces of Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe. The plan is to attack Karabagh from two directions, ‘Abbās Mīrzā from the Arax [south] and the others from the Kura [east].... Ebrāhīm Khan has not supplied your troops with provisions in the past, and he will not now. I suggest that the additional troops bring their own provisions. Ebrāhīm Khan is no longer in the service of Russia. He has been talking to the Persians and is planning to join them with his followers and surround the fortress of Shushi. His sons, Mahdī-qolī and Ĵa‘far-qolī,<sup>2</sup> have not joined him and

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, III (docs. 598-600), 327-330. The above is condensed from three letters written in May.

<sup>2</sup> Mahdī-qolī Khan Ĵavānšīr, the younger of Ebrāhīm Khan, was the khan of Karabagh from 1806 to 1822 when he fled to Persia. Although he kept his father’s title and property, he was a subject of the tsar. Ĵa‘far-qolī was actually the grandson of Ebrāhīm

are faithful to His Majesty. They reported Ebrāhīm's treason to Major Dmitrii Tikhonich [Lisanevich]....<sup>1</sup> Please be assured that the major had no choice but to go to Ebrāhīm's camp at night--for the Persian army was to arrive in the morning and Ebrāhīm had taken his family out of the fortress--and kill Ebrāhīm Khan and a number of people in his party. Please send reinforcements as soon as possible, for 'Abbās Mīrzā is still in Karabagh....

## 141

*Gabriël Yüzbaşı to Tsar Alexander*  
(9 July 1806)<sup>2</sup>

In 1804 I, together with fifteen hundred households, left our villages and livelihood and came to Georgia to reside under Your Majesty's benevolent rule. My elder brother was arrested by the khan of Erevan and imprisoned in the fortress. Once freed, however, he gathered one hundred fifty more families and joined us....

We prostrate ourselves before Your Imperial Majesty and beg to be permitted to become Your subjects and be enrolled in the list of nobility. We humbly request that you grant our family, and the three hundred families of peasants belonging to us, land in Somkhet'i (Lori). When it becomes convenient for You to conquer Erevan, we shall gladly return to our ancestral village [in Kirk Bulagh], where we shall continue to remain Your subjects....<sup>3</sup>

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Khan. He was to succeed him according to the treaty of 1805, but was bypassed by the Russians.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant General Dmitrii Tikhonovich Lisanevich (1778-1825) took part in the Russian invasion of 1796 and was active during the First Russo-Persian War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1806), file 109, ff. 129-130.

<sup>3</sup> The Gegham family did return to their villages in the province of Erevan after the Russian conquest. On 17 October 1807 Gudovich sent Persian documents written by Āgā Moḥammad Khan, his brother 'Alī-qolī Khan, Ḥoseyn 'Alī Khan, and Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, attesting that Gabriël Beg Geghamean had the right to collect dues from the Armenian villages of Zak, Aramus, Bashkend, and Elkovan in the Kirk Bulagh *mahal*, and was thus part of the Armenian nobility recognized by the Persian administration, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 149, ff. 79-82.

## 142

*General Nesvetaev to General Glazenap*<sup>1</sup>  
(18 July 1806)<sup>2</sup>

I have received a report from Major General Nebol'sin<sup>3</sup> regarding his two victories against the Persians. On June 8 and June 13, our troops defeated the forces of 'Abbās Mīrzā, the son of Bābā Khan, and other Persian commanders. I have the honor to submit commendation requests for one staff officer, one chief officer, two lower-ranking officers, three medics, and four Armenian functionaries from Shushi. These two victories have not only decided the fate of Karabagh but even of Georgia. The bravery of the Russian soldiers in these campaigns should be brought to His Majesty's attention. I request that Your Excellency decorate those who were cited for special heroism under fire, especially since the enemy had twenty times more men under its command. I wish to point out that Major General Nebol'sin, who has long served His Highness with devotion, was the main reason for our success....<sup>4</sup>

## 143

*Procurator of Tiflis (Plaksin) to State Counselor Litvinov*<sup>5</sup>  
(22 July 1806)<sup>6</sup>

An Armenian from Elisavetpol', together with his friend, was dispatched by the commandant, Kochnev, to the khan of Nukha (Sheki) with a letter. They waited three days before they were finally admitted to the presence of the khan late at night. Salīm Khan read the letter,

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory Ivanovich Glazenap became the temporary commander of the Caucasus following the death of Tsitsianov.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4259/IV, f. 47.

<sup>3</sup> One of the commanders of the Russian troops in Karabagh, in charge of the Troitskii Corps.

<sup>4</sup> On 31 July, Nesvetaev wrote to Glazenap that since the Ottomans and Persians had started fighting in Baghdad, the time was ripe to attack Erevan, Baku, and Shirvan, *ibid.*, ff. 147-152.

<sup>5</sup> P. M. Litvinov, an administrator in Tsitsianov's service, was later appointed the governor of Georgia.

<sup>6</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 477), 268.

was pleased, and promised to send them back the next day. However, after three more days of waiting, the Armenian and his friend escaped at night and arrived in Elisavetpol' on the fifteenth. During their stay in Nukha, they observed the arrival of three hundred Persians who brought 30,000 gold coins to the khan to hire Lesghian troops--although they did not discover for whom and for what purpose. Since Salīm Khan threw the Russian commander out of Nukha in June and has been acting very independently, he is under suspicion of plotting against us.<sup>1</sup>

144

*Catholicos Israyēl<sup>2</sup> to General Gudovich*

(19 August 1806)<sup>3</sup>

It has been nearly 1400 years since St. Gregory's grandson was named as the patriarch of the Armenians in Karabagh, Elisavetpol', Sheki, and Shirvan--that is, in the Aghuank' See. He received full control of the region and its See and to this day the catholicos of Ararat has had no dealings here. Our monastery has numerous documents proving this. I have for the past forty years been in charge of the monastery and the diocese. The local Russian administration, however, refuses to acknowledge my position and states that according to the late Prince Tsitsianov, our diocese is under the jurisdiction of the Tiflis diocese, which is under Archbishop Hovhannēs. I do not know by what right and why they judge this to be so? The Amar [Amaras] monastery<sup>4</sup> has

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<sup>1</sup> Salīm Khan must have received a strong note from Russia, for he soon responded with a letter affirming his total devotion to the tsar and Russia, *ibid.*, (doc. 479), 269.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicos Israyēl of Gandzak (1763-1808) was appointed as the catholicos of Gandzasar by Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi but was rejected by the Armenians of Karabagh, who elected Hovhannēs VIII Hasan Jalalean. After the murder of Hovhannēs by the khan, Israyēl acted as catholicos, although he was not recognized by most Armenians, who followed Sargis Hasan Jalalean (1792-1799). Following the flight of Sargis, Israyēl, once more acted as sole catholicos in the Amaras monastery until the Russian takeover in 1805-1806, when he was forced to leave the region and settle in Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 149), 79-80.

<sup>4</sup> The Amaras monastery was built in the fifth century. It was invaded by Arabs and by Tamerlane. It was rebuilt in the 14th century and became a center of learning during the 15-16th centuries. It is located in the Martuni region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

never involved itself in the affairs of others, and when Karabagh, Elisavetpol', Shirvan, and Sheki were under the rule of various khans, we were always in charge of the Armenians of the entire region. Religious administration should not be subject to the authority of the state. I request that Your Excellency correct this error and restore the rights of our diocese....

## 145

*Minas Lazarev<sup>1</sup> to General Gudovich*

(27 August 1806)<sup>2</sup>

After your departure from Moscow, I received letters from Armenian meliks and yüzbaşıs who face difficulties and who asked me to intercede on their behalf. I directed them to apply their petitions and their trust to the kind disposition of Your Excellency. Relying on your friendship with me, I hope that you will trouble yourself and respond positively to their dire condition....<sup>3</sup>

## 146

*General Nesvetaev to General Gudovich*

(6 September 1806)<sup>4</sup>

On 28 August I received the following information from the region of Erevan: 1. Hōseyn Khan of Mākū in a letter to Ĵa'far-qolī Khan of Koi, stated that Mahdī-qolī Khan of Erevan, due to his failure in the Shuragol campaign on 23 July, had been replaced by Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe. 2. Hōseyn Khan added that he had received a letter from Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan asking that Ĵa'far-qolī Khan inform the Russian commander of Shuragol that he [Ĵa'far-qolī] is not willing to

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<sup>1</sup> The Lazarev brothers, Ivan (d. 1801), Ioakim (d. 1826), and Mina (d. 1809) [Hovhannēs, Hovakim, Minas], were all influential at court.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1806), file 110, f. 557.

<sup>3</sup> On 17 September and again on 30 September, Minas Lazarev wrote to Gudovich asking him to pay special attention to the needs of the Armenians of Georgia and Armenia, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1806), file 110, ff. 275, 556. On 3 November, the Armenian refugees from Erevan wrote to Gudovich that they had been reduced to poverty and needed Russian financial aid, *ibid.*, ff. 319-320.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA (1806), file 4259/IV, ff. 193-196.

serve Bābā Khan. Kalb 'Alī asked Ĵa'far-qolī to say that he, his followers, and the Kurds of 'Abdul Aqa and Hōseyn Aqa all wish to accept Russian suzerainty. When the Russian troops arrive in Etchmiadzin, he and his forces will join them and will hand them the fortress of Erevan. Kalb 'Alī requests, however, that our forces reach Etchmiadzin in twenty days, since the provisions in Erevan are low. If we delay, the fortress will be relieved by Bābā Khan and he [Kalb 'Alī Khan] may be taken to Tehran. Hōseyn Khan of Mākū adds that he himself will also join our troops and become a Russian subject.

The Armenian catholicos, Daniēl, who is in Persia, has sent the following news to Colonel Simanovich<sup>1</sup> in Artik via an informer: 1. Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe has indeed arrived in Erevan from Persia with five hundred cavalry and four cannons. Before that his son with one thousand infantry, also arrived in Erevan. 2. Aḥmad Khan has been put in charge of both Erevan and Nakhichevan. Mahdī-qolī Khan, due to his inability to govern after Moḥammad Khan's arrest, has been recalled to Persia. Hōseyn Khan of Mākū and his forces have joined the new khan in Erevan, where they now have some 5,500 cavalry and infantry at their disposal. Part of the Persian army has crossed Garnichay and is approaching Erevan, as well. 3. As to the Armenian catholicos, Daniēl, the informant is not sure if he is now under guard in a secret place in Erevan or has been sent to Nakhichevan. 4. The same informant stated that Prince Alexander of Georgia is pretending to be sick so as not to accompany Mahdī-qolī Khan to Persia. He is planning to flee to Turkey, where most of his followers have escaped. 5. Bābā Khan is in Tehran, but 'Abbās Mīrzā, with a part of the Persian army, is in the Moḡān Steppe at the borders of Shirvan. 6. Aḥmad Khan is acting benevolently toward the Erevan population to gain their confidence and trust. He is returning the movable and immovable property confiscated by Mahdī-qolī Khan and others. He has permitted those who lived in villages close to our borders to return home. He has assured them that they will be safe from Russian attacks, since he

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<sup>1</sup> Fedor Filippovich Simanovich took part in the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813. In 1810 he was appointed as governor of western Georgia and later served as the governor of all of Georgia.

is willing to live peacefully and have friendly relations with our administration in Pambak and Shuragol.

To better understand the situation in Erevan, however, I suggest that we do not pay attention to stories of unreliable spies. The two informants we sent from Kazakh to Erevan, returned on 2 September and gave Prince Bebutov, the commandant of Kazakh, a letter from Navruch 'Alī Beg, son of Ismi Khan, and Asat Beg. The message stated that all the khans and Persian forces have left Erevan, and only Aḥmad Khan of Marāḡe remains with a small force. The population of Erevan wishes to become Russian subjects, and if our forces appear they will all quit the fortress. The new khan is gathering provisions in the fortress and is expecting more supplies from Azerbaijan and other places.

This news makes it clear that the Persian forces lack provisions. The harvest of the khanate has been low and we should make sure that no wheat is bought in from the pashalik of Kars or from Talin. We should announce that anyone caught selling wheat to the Persians will have his harvest confiscated by the treasury.

## 147

*Colonel Simanovich to Baron Rosen*<sup>1</sup>

(17 October 1806)<sup>2</sup>

The Armenian scout I sent to Erevan has returned and informs us that Aḥmad Khan has sent more than five hundred soldiers, who were sick, to Persia. There are now only about one thousand troops in the fortress. The khan, who is also ill, has recruited some eight hundred locals to be trained as replacements.... As to the fortress, the walls facing the suburbs are being repaired. Two new high walls and two cannons, costing 5,000 rubles each have been added and enough provisions have been stored. Wheat costs 16 copper rubles for each *samar*. 'Abbās Mīrzā and his forces in Tabriz have been recalled to Tehran by Bābā Khan....

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory Rosen arrived in the Caucasus in 1805. He held various posts and in 1831 was appointed administrator in chief of the Caucasus, see documents dated between 1831 and 1837.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA (1806), file 4259, f. 276.

## 148

*General Gudovich to Archbishop Hovhannēs*(3 November 1806)<sup>1</sup>

I have received a petition signed by religious leaders including two archbishops, Grigor and Basil. It asks me to allocate, from the Etchmiadzin funds in my possession, salaries to the churchmen from Etchmiadzin who accompanied the relics from Etchmiadzin and who are currently residing here in Georgia. I wish to inform you that I am willing to do everything in my power to help your Church and will gladly respond favorably to the petition. I request, however, that you provide me with the exact number of priests who have come here from Etchmiadzin. In addition, you have a copy of the list prepared by Nesvetsev, signed by the late General Tsitsianov, which details all the items [including cash] taken from Etchmiadzin. Please let me know which items and how much money you will need to satisfy the needs of your Church. I will then examine it and will order that the necessary money and material be transferred to you with signed receipts. The rest will be kept until the time when it can be returned to the Holy See of Etchmiadzin.

## 149

*General Gudovich to Catholicos Israyēl*(16 November 1806)<sup>2</sup>

I have received Your Honor's request, and although I personally wish to grant your wish to travel to St. Petersburg I cannot do so without His Majesty's permission. In addition, the trip is long and arduous and not advisable for a person of your age. Furthermore, I must frankly inform you that it is impossible to restore you to your office as the spiritual leader of Elisavetpol'. It should be clear to you that Ganja and Karabagh have come under Russian jurisdiction. Following our arrival, His Imperial Majesty saw fit to appoint Archbishop Hovhannēs as the chief of Armenian religious affairs in Transcaucasia, a position which was confirmed by His Holiness, Catholicos Daniēl.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1806), file 120, ff. 133-134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 153-154.



You are no longer in charge. I, therefore, cannot, without His Majesty's writ, grant your request.<sup>1</sup>

## 150

*General Gudovich to Catholicos Daniēl*(23 November 1806)<sup>2</sup>

I had the honor to receive Your Grace's letter in which you congratulate me on my appointment and arrival in Georgia. I am aware of your unfortunate situation and hope that the strong efforts and affection from my Emperor will soon result in the end of your pain and restore you in your rightful position....May God give you strength! I entrust myself to your pastoral blessing.

## 151

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*(1 December 1806)<sup>3</sup>

Responding to your report regarding the return of the aqalar, Ahmad Aqa, who had abandoned his villages and had fled [during wartime]. The Armenian inhabitants of those villages not only did not flee, but they stayed in their homes during the invasion by the enemy and demonstrated their loyalty to us. There will be discontent if the conditions are restored to their previous state. I suggest, therefore, that Ahmad Aqa's rule over the Armenians be terminated and he be limited to supervising the Tatars. Inform him via the local military commander that he is being punished for his actions and treacherous intentions.

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<sup>1</sup> On 24 November, Israyēl asked Gudovich to permit him to leave for Elisavet-pol'. Although his wish was granted, the Russians made sure that Sargis Hasan Jalalean, who was clashing with Hovhannēs of Tiflis, returned to Gandzasar in 1807 as catholicos of Aghuank', a position he kept until 1815, when the office was abolished, *ibid.*, file 110, f. 581.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, file 120, f. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, file 117, ff. 124-125.

## 152

*Melik Jamshid to Minas Lazarev*(2 December 1806)<sup>1</sup>

Although I have written a number of letters answering your questions I do not know if you have received them. Hence, I respond once more to all your inquiries. Regarding your first question, why aren't our [Armenian] names among the Georgian princes who were mentioned for their military heroism?

I regret to inform you that although we meliks participated in campaigns against the enemy and were decorated no less than the Georgians, because of the malice that had taken root in the heart of the late Prince Tsitsianov against the Armenian people, he did not inform His Imperial Majesty of our efforts during the taking of Ganja and the march on Erevan and Shirvan, where Tsitsianov himself observed me and my troops in action and witnessed our devotion to the Russian Empire. He promised me that he would ask His Imperial Highness to decorate me, and I would have been had Tsitsianov not met with his unfortunate end. Following his death, knowing the evil plans of the Persians for Karabagh, I presented some of my ideas to General Nesvetaev, and then went to Shushi where I joined the Russian troops. When the Persians learned of the death of Tsitsianov, they hurried to Karabagh with large forces led by 'Abbās Mīrzā, son of Bābā Khan, and joined the Turkish inhabitants of Karabagh. They planned to take the fortress and slaughter all the Russian and Armenian defenders. Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh was in league with them and received his just punishment.<sup>2</sup> Nesvetaev, heeding my advice, sent the Troitskii Corps to Karabagh. He joined Colonel Kariagin's forces in Ganja and they set out to relieve us. I was instructed to escort them to the fortress. Thus I left most of my troops with the Russian defenders in Shushi and returned with a detachment of my troops to guide the relief forces. After three days we managed to arrive and defeat the Persians. Twenty thousand of their cavalry fled in great fear and confusion across the Arax.

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<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 19, doc. 135.

<sup>2</sup> For a different interpretation, see M. Atkin, "The Strange Death of Ebrāhīm Khalil Khān of Qarābāgh," *Iranian Studies*, XII (1979), 79-107.

Major General Nebol'sin, the commander of the Troitskii Corps and the head of the Jäger group, Colonel Kariagin, commended my efforts in obtaining the necessary provisions for the Russian troops and in our role in the battles. They informed General Nesvetaev and asked him to relate it to His Imperial Majesty. Unfortunately, however, for some reason, he did not do so. When I arrived here [Tiflis] I sent a petition to His Excellency Ivan Vasil'evich Gudovich, to which, because of his love for you and for our nation and due to your intercession, I expect to receive a positive response.

You ask why we haven't created our own corps of troops? You can be sure that we could have done so without any outside help if we had our former riches and the individuals who, after the invasions of Āġā Moḥammad Khan, were scattered in the countries of [Greater] Shirvan and Georgia due to hunger and disease. My father and all our ancestors had their own corps of troops. The entire Karabagh province was in our hands and all Armenians and Turks lived under our rule. If Your Excellency wishes the Armenian people to forever rid themselves of the rule of the barbarians, to restore their ancient glory, and to have troops ready to serve their second savior, His Imperial Majesty, you should first of all make it possible for all the Armenians who are scattered in Shirvan and Georgia to return to Karabagh. Second they should be free from all taxes and duties for three years. Third, the Armenian inhabitants of Karabagh should not be under the rule of Muslims.<sup>1</sup> The Muslims will never be loyal to the Russian Empire. They constantly try to reduce the number of Armenians in Karabagh, so that it will be easier for them to carry out their evil deeds. Fourth, and finally, funds should be given to us to purchase arms so that we will be ready to march together with the Russian troops right to the Arax River. Such a generous action on the part of His Highness will encourage Armenians dispersed in other countries to come and to place themselves under His Imperial rule....<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to the new khan of Karabagh, Maḥdī-qolī, son of Ebrāhīm Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Following the traditional closing phrases, a postscript by Archbishop Hovhannēs of Georgia assured Lazarev that the Armenians [of Georgia] were ready to form their own army and serve the tsar.

## 153

*Archbishop Ep'rem to Tsar Alexander*(17 January 1807)<sup>1</sup>

August Monarch and Great Ruler of All the Russias and the hope of all Christians!

....Armenians living in the city of Madras in India, having learned from both myself and state counselor Minas Lazarev of Your Majesty's special love for Catholicos Daniël in Etchmiadzin, for our land, and our people, have asked that they be permitted to emigrate and to place themselves and their belongings under Your powerful protection....I thus take this liberty and on my knees beg Your Highness to extend your regard to them. As our Lord was reminded by the Canaanite woman, they will benefit from the crumbs of Your Godlike Empire.<sup>2</sup>

## 154

*General Gudovich to Archbishop Hovhannēs*(5 February 1807)<sup>3</sup>

The department of internal affairs of Georgia has informed me that the abbot of the St. Step'an monastery has totally ignored the demands of the chief of police to substantiate the accuracy of Step'an Magakelov's [and his witnesses'] complaint about an outstanding bill. The abbot has refused to respond, claiming that the monastery is outside the ju-

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<sup>1</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1803-1809), file 186, ff. 170-171. The Armenians of Madras had, on 3 July 1806, written to Tsar Alexander asking him to help realize the emancipation of Armenia. The letter was signed by Hovhannēs and Nazar Shahmirean, Manuk Hakobean, Vardan Kasporean, Hakob Harut'iwnean, Set Samean, and Awet' Setean, *ibid.*, ff. 168-169. In July 1807, Italinskii wrote a report to the Foreign Ministry which concluded that the tsar had no objections to the Armenians of India immigrating and accepting Russian citizenship. They had to inform him, however, exactly where they wished to settle and realize that citizenship would only be granted when and if they entered Russia. Russo-English relations could be affected if they remained in India as subjects of Russia, *ibid.*, ff. 184-185.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to *Matthew* 15:27, "She said, Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table."

<sup>3</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, f. 56.

risdiction of civil authorities. In my position I am obliged to ensure that law and order is maintained in the region. I thus ask Your Grace to order him to immediately respond to the demands of the department; please inform me as soon as this is resolved.

## 155

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*(27 February 1807)<sup>1</sup>

Twelve Armenians and two Jews, citizens of Turkey, who are in Tiflis for the purposes of trade and whose goods are embargoed, have declared that they wish to remain in Tiflis and accept Russian citizenship--as stated in your report of 22 February. I give my permission and instruct you to give them back their goods. Let them swear loyalty oaths to His Imperial Majesty and seek local respectable citizens to vouch for them.

## 156

*General Gudovich to War Ministry*(10 March 1807)<sup>2</sup>

*List of Armenian Officers and Enlisted Men under the Command of Major General Nebol'sin Who Distinguished Themselves in the Campaign against the Persians*

Two individuals [not named] in the musketeer division under Major Neshkovich. The first fought on the left flank and has no previous decorations. The second fought on the right flank and wears the medal of St. Anne III class. Both faced two thousand of the enemy cavalry on 8 June [1806], stood their ground, and forced their retreat. I recommend that both be given the medal of St. Anne II class.

Senior medic Nozdrin, assisted the staff doctor and exerted great efforts, more than those made by others, in taking care of many

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* ff. 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA (1807), file 4259/I ff. 250-251, original in table format.

wounded on 13 June. I recommend that he be given a monetary reward.

During the battle of 13 June, the Armenian prince, Melik Jamshid Shahnazarov actively and fearlessly participated on all fronts, demonstrating his zeal in defeating the enemy. Melik Jamshid, following my earlier report, has been awarded the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Two Armenians from Elisavetpol', Mīrzā Surakhan Grigorov and Hovhannēs Yüzbaşı Harutiunov took part in the 13 June battle and, as in the previous battle, demonstrated special bravery under the command of Colonel Kariagin. I recommend silver medals with red ribbons.<sup>1</sup>

## 157

*General Gudovich to Archbishop Sargis*(11 March 1807)<sup>2</sup>

In response to your letter of 12 February, in which you assert that Archbishop Hovhannēs has supposedly meddled in the affairs of your monastery [Haghpat] and has not shown you the respect due your office [catholicos of Gandzasar], I have to inform you that His Imperial Majesty and Catholicos Daniēl have both appointed Archbishop Hovhannēs as the chief religious authority of all the Armenians in Georgia [and the Caucasus] and that all Armenian Church officials are subordinate to him. I, therefore cannot grant your request that you be freed from his jurisdiction. In my position as governor of the region, I request that you submit and carry out the appropriate wishes of Archbishop Hovhannēs without any dissension. I am not permitted to get involved in any personal disagreements you may have with him. If, however, he asks you to perform any illegal action, you may then ask for my involvement....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 29 January 1808, the minister of war, Arakcheev, issued the order for the medals, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1806-1808), file 107, f. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, f. 103.

<sup>3</sup> On 31 March Gudovich sent a memo to Hovhannēs in which he affirmed the archbishop's power as leader of the Armenian religious community in the Caucasus, *ibid.*, f. 142. On 9 November, Gudovich asked Archbishop Sargis to give an account of the dues collected by Haghpat monastery, *ibid.*, f. 388.

## 158

*Melik Jamshid to General Gudovich*(27 March 1807)<sup>1</sup>

In my readiness to serve Your Excellency, I must warn you against the Tatars, and especially against Mahdī-qolī Khan's treachery. If the fortress of Shushi or the administration of Karabagh is handed to Mahdī-qolī Khan, then be assured that he is not loyal to you. Although I do not have written proof, it is said that Mahdī-qolī Khan is in contact with the Persians, and it certainly looks like it. Therefore, all the Armenians and others in Karabagh, save for the Tatars, upon learning that Your Excellency has ordered all the Russian troops to depart from here, are greatly saddened. We pray day and night that if you decide to appoint Mahdī-qolī Khan as governor, that a large Russian force of some six hundred to seven hundred will remain here. Otherwise please take him to Tiflis and give the post to someone trustworthy. Then you will need only three hundred to four hundred troops in the fortress. If this is not done, be assured that in ten days' time the Persians will be in Karabagh or the fortress will be occupied by them. If Karabagh falls to the Persians, then Elisavetpol', Shamshadil, and Kazakh will be attacked and all the Christians will either be killed or end up in captivity. I, therefore, beg you, for Christ's sake, to appoint someone trustworthy and give him three hundred or four hundred troops; otherwise six hundred to seven hundred troops under the command of someone who will watch the Tatars carefully is essential. If you want to be sure of the khan or the Tatars, then it is advisable to command Lisanevich, who knows Karabagh well, to take seven or eight hostages from among important [Muslim] citizens to Tiflis or Elisavetpol'.

The Tatars of Shushi are constantly saying that the Russian troops will soon leave the fortress. The Armenians are extremely alarmed at this, although I keep assuring them that the troops shall remain. Since the Tatars continue to spread the news, no one believes me. God forbid, if it is true that the Russians are planning to leave, then I beg that you gather all the Armenians from here and relocate them to Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, file 152, ff. 168-169.

<sup>2</sup> Copies were sent to Nebol'sin, Kariagin, and Archbishop Hovhannēs in Tiflis.

## 159

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*(1 April 1807)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian Yüzbaşı Hovhannēs, who has left Erevan has asked me to permit him and the Armenians under his supervision to settle on empty land belonging to the treasury in the Kazakh region called Nakhta. I suggest that you find out from the military commander in charge there if the land is indeed empty and if it belongs to the treasury. If so, is there enough land, and can it sustain all of them?

## 160

*Armenian Meliks to General Gudovich*(2 April 1807)<sup>2</sup>

Your Excellency, we wish to inform you who are in charge of Georgia, of the condition of our lives. Our ancestors in Karabagh faithfully served the Russian tsars during their campaigns in Persia. Twenty years ago when we were informed by General Burnashov that Her Imperial Majesty had become the guardian of Georgia, we left our lands in Karabagh and moved to Georgia. Up till now we have relied on our own resources, while continuing to serve His Majesty, whose benevolence has improved the lives of our inhabitants....

We ask Your Excellency to act as a benevolent father and be our guardian. We beg Your Excellency to help present our case to His Imperial Majesty so that we can live in a manner befitting us as princes. In return, we shall not spare our lives in the service of His Highness.

Sam Melik Beglarean, Bagir Melik Beglarean,  
Aqabek Melik Beglarean.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, f. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, file 141, f. 171.



## 161

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*(16 April 1807)<sup>1</sup>

The manager of the Alaverdi mines, Shishmarev, has reported to me that the inhabitants of the villages of Bol'nis and Shulaver are not sending their required workers to the mines. The first village claims that they are, on my orders, preparing for a campaign in Kars; the second is supposedly engaged in reforestation. I suggest that you compel them through the chief of police to send the required laborers immediately, without any excuses on their part. Otherwise the Alaverdi works will fall idle and the treasury shall suffer losses.

## 162

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*(2 May 1807)<sup>2</sup>

On the 31st of last March I instructed you to inform the governing board of Georgia, the High Civil Court, and the Tiflis District Court that Melik Abov should be excused from appearing before them, because I had need of his services. They were not to pass any judgments nor were they to recover any debts during his absence from Tiflis. Melik Abov, his son, and one hundred of his soldiers are serving in the Central Headquarters of the Military Command of the Caucasus. Now Melik Abov has received a letter from home, informing him that Serebriakov, the Tiflis land commissioner, has requested that he or his son present themselves to the *zemskii* court.<sup>3</sup> Since they are both serving at central command, as I have already made clear, they cannot appear at the court. If any demands are made by the citizens of Tiflis, they should not be addressed to his villagers but should be presented to him here. Please let me know if you received [and carried out] my previous orders, and tell me what is so urgent that it requires their [Melik Abov and his son] immediate presence in Tiflis.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, file 150, f. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Regional court established by the local Russian administration.

## 163

*General Nesvetaev to General Gudovich*(26 August 1807)<sup>1</sup>

Captain Prekantov', who commands the post at Bekant, reported that on the 25th, gunfire was heard around midnight from the village of Tapanli. Soon after, an Armenian worker brought news that approximately twenty men had attacked the village. Prekantov' took fifteen Cossacks and more than thirty armed Armenians and went to Tapanli, but the enemy was gone. He was told that the attackers were from the Karapapakh tribe, who had previously lived there. The raiders had abducted an Armenian boy, who was sleeping with his father in a barn. The father, as well as four Armenians sleeping in the mill of Tapanli, were decapitated. The village of Kochkanta was also raided and the head of one of the three Armenians guarding the grain was severed.

## 164

*General Gudovich to Baron Budberg*<sup>2</sup>(23 September 1807)<sup>3</sup>

I have the honor and pleasure to inform Your Excellency that the Armenian catholicos, Daniēl, has finally been freed, after four years of captivity in Persia. He has been installed in his rightful place as catholicos. This transpired after my suggestions during the ongoing negotiations for truce with Persia. When I dispatched my adjutant Major Stepanov to Bābā Khan's prime minister, Mīrzā Šafī'<sup>4</sup> with a proposal for truce, I also wrote and explained the details of what had transpired.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 435), 235.

<sup>2</sup> Andrei Iakovlevich Budberg (1750-1812) was recommended to Catherine the Great by Field Marshal Braun in 1783. He joined the diplomatic corps and in 1796 was appointed the ambassador to Stockholm (he served until 1803). In 1806 he became the foreign minister of Russia and in 1807 accompanied Tsar Alexander to Tilsit. He was against the Russo-French Treaty of Tilsit and resigned in late 1807.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 150), 80.

<sup>4</sup> Mīrzā Moḥammad Šafī' Māzandarānī, chief vizier of Fath 'Alī Shah (1801-1809).

My adjutant also discussed the matter with Mīrzā Bozorg,<sup>1</sup> the vizier of the of Bābā Khan's son,<sup>2</sup> and asked him to convince Bābā Khan to free Daniēl. The catholicos has been released by 'Abbās Mīrzā and is now in charge of the Armenian monastery at Etchmiadzin with all the rights and honors due him. Some of the Armenian priests who had sought refuge in Georgia have returned to Etchmiadzin. In addition, a few of the items that were taken from Etchmiadzin by Prince Tsitsianov and Major General Nesvetaev--and which had been transferred to Georgia, have been returned to Etchmiadzin at Daniēl's request. I am guarding all the rest of Etchmiadzin's treasures until a final agreement is concluded with Persia. Otherwise, if peace is not achieved, it would fall into their hands.<sup>3</sup>

## 165

*General Gudovich to State Treasurer Golubtsov*(17 October 1807)<sup>4</sup>

The minister of the interior, Count Victor Pavlovich Kochubei, has informed me that His Majesty desires an accurate accounting of the taxes in cash owed by Armenians of Pambak over the past three years. Since the minister of finance has asked me for the numbers, I include the data reported by Litvinov, the governor of Georgia. In 1804, the region of Pambak had 2,832 males, of which 1,529 were Tatars. The [1,303] Armenians consisted of 926 native residents, 318 from Lori, and 59 resettled from various places. Their annual tax amounted to 3,600 copper rubles, but since only Turkish currency was common in this region and each Turkish coin was worth 1.65 rubles, they paid 2,187 rubles in copper--or 1,969 in silver. In addition they also gave 300 *samar* of wheat. The previous governor of Georgia, Kovalenskii,

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<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Bozorg ('Isā Qā'em Maqām) was chief minister of Persia from 1809 to 1822.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to 'Abbās Mīrzā, the heir-apparent who was the commander in chief of the Persian forces and governor of Azerbaijan.

<sup>3</sup> On 19 September, Nesvetaev reported to Gudovich that an Armenian from Erevan had arrived to say that French and Turkish envoys had stopped in Erevan on the way to Tehran. The Turkish envoy had presented Daniēl with the sultan's decree confirming him as catholicos, *AKAK*, III (doc. 436), 235.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, III (doc. 415), 228-229,

in order to increase the income of the province, added 1,314 loads of wheat--which they paid in cash, 1 ruble for each load. He also added 460 rubles to the taxes in cash. The Armenians of Lori have to pay 280 rubles annually. The total taxes from the Armenians of Pambak and Lori amount to 4,023 rubles a year--previously they paid 2,054 rubles. The burden of taxes for the Armenians increased in other ways as well. Many Tatars crossed the border and have taken most of the flocks belonging to the Armenians. Altogether the Armenians are in arrears of 14,035 rubles in cash, 6,556 loads of wheat and 2,500 loads of barley. Although most of the Tatars have returned, the inhabitants cannot even pay the old tax, not to mention the increases ordered by Kovalenskii. I think it will be appropriate to reduce the arrears by two-thirds (5,582 rubles and 44 and 1/3 kopeks) and have them pay it in three years. After that we should collect the original 4,023 rubles. I think that this is fair and I await your response.

## 166

*Armenian Refugees from Erevan to General Gudovich*(18 October 1807)<sup>1</sup>

When the late Prince Tsitsianov withdrew from the fortress of Erevan, we and other respectable Armenian citizens, on his suggestion and the advice of the Armenian Archbishop of Tiflis, Hovhannēs, left our business, houses, orchards, mills, and other belongings and rushed to embrace the protection of the Russian state. We were kindly received by the administrator in chief, who offered to give us the empty houses and orchards belonging to the Tatars of Elisavetpol', who had fled to Persia with 'Abbās Mīrzā. We did not accept mainly because we hoped that the Russian army would soon take Erevan and that we would return to our homes. Since Erevan has not yet been taken and our stay in Tiflis has exhausted our money, we request that Your Excellency instruct the person in charge [ of Elisavetpol'] to give each family a house and orchard, as mentioned above, where we can live until the city of Erevan comes under Russian rule. We pray for your health.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1807), file 141, f. 172.

Zohrap Ot'arumov and Ėstep'an Palbkov.

167

*General Gudovich to Governor Litvinov*

(7 November 1807)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian chiefs of Erevan, Melik Abraham and Yüzbaşı Hovhannēs, have informed me that they and their Armenian subjects from Erevan wish to relocate to Elisavetpol' province, which they deem better than Pambak (where I had hoped they would settle). They add that Elisavetpol' is far from Erevan and their subjects would not be able to return easily to their homes in Erevan. Please ask the military commander of Elisavetpol', Major Iakimov, if there is fallow state land in his province, if it is suited for such a transfer, and how much it can produce.<sup>2</sup>

168

*General Gudovich to General Nebol'sin*

(11 November 1807)<sup>3</sup>

Major Skripin' has reported some problems among the Armenians of Elisavetpol'. At the direction of Patriarch Israyēl, and at a signal given by church bells, five hundred Armenians who had gathered at the monastery threw stones at Bishop Minas, whom I had sent to take the funds illegally collected by Israyēl. During the investigation that followed, the Armenians claim that Major Skripin' started the problem by beating them with sticks. I request that you look into the matter and punish those responsible. If Major Skripin' is at fault, he should also be punished. I also request that you order Major Iakimov to seize the money collected by Patriarch Israyēl. The patriarch should leave Eli-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 441), 236-237, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, ff. 380-381.

<sup>2</sup> On 26 November, Gudovich asked Nesvetaev if there was appropriate farmland for growing wheat in Pambak and if not, if there was such land in Kazakh (which had become part of Elisavetpol' province). Gudovich was still hoping to keep the Armenians (Melik Sahak, Melik Abraham, Yüzbaşı Hovhannēs and Alaverdov) in Pambak, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, f. 285.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 151), 80.

savetpol' and go to Karabagh. An officer should be dispatched to inform him that if he does not leave voluntarily, other means will be used....<sup>1</sup>

## 169

*Armenians of Sheki to Tsar Alexander*(23 November 1807)<sup>2</sup>

From the earliest times the infidel rulers of the khanate of Sheki have imposed harsh treatment on those of the Christian faith. Their intolerance of our religion was such that they even imposed a tax in addition to all other taxes called *din ipag*,<sup>3</sup> which is a tax for one's religion. Poverty and the strict collection of this tax forced many [Christians] to abjure their faith. Your Most Supreme Majesty, the protection of this province is in Your hands. We, the Armenian inhabitants of the villages of Vardashen and Nzh, have maintained our religion thanks to God. Although the ruler of this province, Ĵa'far-qolī Khan, has received the decree to rule this province for Your Highness, he continues to collect the tax from us Christians as usual. We beg that You, as the defender of Christianity, take us under Your protection. Our suffering people have placed all their hopes in Your Majesty.

....Abraham and Zak'aria, the elders of the Armenians of Vardashen and Nzh, who did not know Russian, have asked P'ilipos Vardapet to write this on their behalf.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Following the death of Israyēl, Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis asked Gudovich to enact Tsitsianov's order of 1804 and bring the Armenians of Karabagh, Elisavetpol', Sheki, and Shirvan under the Georgian archdiocese, *ibid.*, (doc. 152), 81.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1807), file 141, ff. 167-168. The letter was sent to Gudovich.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to *jizya*, a poll tax paid by non-Muslims.

<sup>4</sup> On 27 October, Gudovich wrote to the khan of Sheki in Nukha, asking him to cease collecting the religious tax from the Armenians. The Russian Empire, he stated, had granted freedom of religion to all its subjects. Armenians and Tatars in Russia were free to follow their own religion without hindrance, see *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 18, doc. 162a.

## 170

*General Gudovich to Counselor Litvinov*  
(28 December 1807)<sup>1</sup>

Melik Abov has requested my permission to send his peasants, who are currently living in the village of Bol'nis, to his lands in Karabagh. In answer to my inquiry, he has responded that the late King Erekle had invited him to his kingdom and had granted him the village of Bol'nis. Erekle's son, Giorgi, affirmed that decree, which gave Melik Abov clear title free from any taxes or other duties imposed on him or his subjects. Since our arrival, various landowners have appeared demanding payments from Abov, something he is not able to oblige. I suggest that you involve yourself seriously in this matter and report their claims to me. Inform them that if they do not cease their demands, they should then populate the land in question with their own peasants within a year. Otherwise they cannot collect any dues even if the land remains empty after Melik Abov's departure.

## 171

*General Gudovich to General Nesvetaev*  
(4 January 1808)<sup>2</sup>

The Armenians who left Kars for Pambak under the supervision of their elder, Hakob Khanbab Melikov, have asked me to find them arable land. I order that you find suitable land for them to settle in the Pambak highlands. Please inform me of your action in this matter.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1807), file 150, ff. 350-351.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (1808), file 182, f. 7.

172

*General Gudovich to General Akhverdov*<sup>1</sup>(21 January 1808)<sup>2</sup>

Your report includes a petition from the Armenians of Kazakh, in which they ask that their melik, Harutiun Markarov, be put in charge of them. I cannot oblige, primarily because the right of rule over the people of Kazakh was given by our decree to the Tatar, Mustafa Kazumov, and such an action will not sit well with the Kazakh Tatars. I suggest that for the moment neither Markarov nor Kazumov be placed in charge of the Armenians.

173

*General Gudovich to the Civilian Administration*(13 February 1808)<sup>3</sup>

The relatives of the late Melik Abov are complaining that his nephew, Melik Fireydu, has taken control of peasants who do not rightly belong to him. I suggest that as executors, you order that the peasants remain under the supervision of whoever was in charge of them prior to the death of Melik Abov until your next general meeting [when the will of Melik Abov will be examined].

174

*General Gudovich to Colonel Iakimov*(15 February 1808)<sup>4</sup>

A number of honorable citizens of Elisavetpol' have complained to me that their administrator, Batal Kevkhu, has usurped the position and has oppressed them. They ask that he be removed from his post and account for the money taken from them for the past four years. I ask you to inquire into this matter and inform me of the situation. I may

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<sup>1</sup> Fedor Isaevich Akhverdov assumed the duties of the governor of Georgia after the death of Nesvetaev in January. He was officially appointed to that position in 1809.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1808), file 182, f. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 84.



add that as the commandant of Elisavetpol' you also hold the post of chief of police. I suggest that you ask the policemen under you to observe Batal Kevkhu and, if warranted, deprive him of his rule over the Armenians.<sup>1</sup>

## 175

*General Gudovich to General Akhverdov*

(12 March 1808)<sup>2</sup>

Melik Arushan (Rushan?) has petitioned me with a complaint that the commandant of Elisavetpol', Lt. Col. Iakimov, has by your order taken peasants who Melik Arushan had brought from Karabagh even before becoming a Russian subject, and has given them to Melik Adam. I demand that you explain by what authority you did this and why this wasn't decided by the courts.

## 176

*Catholicos Daniël to Tsar Alexander*

(4 July 1808)<sup>3</sup>

To His Most Gracious Imperial Majesty Alexander Pavlovich, Autocrat of All Russias, the hope of the Araratian See, its religious hierarchy and the entire Armenian nation.

From the Slave of Christ, Daniël, Catholicos of All Armenians and Chief Patriarch of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin in Ararat, who humbly sends you Christ's peace and God's blessing.

Your Highness has long been aware of the actions of Dawit', who against the wishes of the Armenian people called himself the catholicos. Even now, when all others have accepted our authority, he still refuses to bow and is continuing his intrigues with the barbarians to regain the throne through various schemes.

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<sup>1</sup> The Armenian complaint dated 10 February is in *ibid.*, file 137, f. 114. On 10 March, Gudovich wrote to Nebol'sin that Iakimov reported that the Armenians' complaints were not justified. He asked Nebol'sin to look into it further, *ibid.*, file 182, f. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, III (doc. 153), 82.

Your Majesty is aware, however, that the entire Armenian Church hierarchy and I have selected Archbishop Ep'rem, the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia, as the future catholicos. We beg Your Highness to instruct the commander of Georgia [Gudovich] that in the event of my death, he should contact the khan of Erevan<sup>1</sup> and the Prince [‘Abbās Mīrzā] to assure that Dawit’s machinations are not successful, and that Ep'rem, with Your Majesty’s help, should be installed as catholicos.

....Please ignore any letters which you may receive on behalf of Dawit; they will be written by bishops and priests who were coerced and thus had no choice in the matter.<sup>2</sup>

## 177

*General Gudovich to General Akhverdov*(21 August 1808)<sup>3</sup>

Armenians and Tatars of Elisavetpol’ have submitted a petition stating that following the destruction caused by the Persians many left the region, and thus there are fewer people engaged in grain production. Although some have returned to their domiciles, they are poor and cannot pay the taxes demanded by the commandant of Elisavetpol’, Iakimov, who expects to collect the same amount as that collected by the late Jāvād Khan. I wrote to Iakimov, asking him to conduct a thorough survey of the conditions there, and he reported that the situation is not as bad as the inhabitants claim. He added that the *mal va jehat*

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<sup>1</sup> In 1807, Fath ‘Alī Shah appointed a trusted Qajar kinsman, Hōseyn-qolī Khan, as the khan of Erevan and the *sardar* (commander) of the Persian forces across the Arax River. The khan, a competent governor, ruled until the Russian conquest of Erevan in 1827.

<sup>2</sup> A similar letter was sent on 14 July, *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (1803-1809), file 186, ff. 239-240. Archbishop Grigor, the former patriarch of Constantinople, who had been imprisoned with Daniēl, wrote to Minas Lazarev on 11 April from Tiflis, explaining the conditions in Etchmiadzin, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 19, doc. 32. On 13 and 17 June, Archbishop Hovhannēs wrote to Minas Lazarev on the situation of the Armenian Church, *ibid.*, doc. 61. On 8 August, Archbishop Hovhannēs wrote to Lazarev suggesting that Catholicos Daniēl, who had not long to live, be decorated by the Russians for his services, *ibid.*, doc. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, III (doc. 422), 230-231.

tax is only collected from those who have grain fields....The grain harvest in Elisavetpol', he adds, is very good and the grain collected there is essential for the treasury.

## 178

*Certificate of Appreciation*(2 December 1808)<sup>1</sup>

Presented on the second day of December to the clergy of Etchmiadzin. Having been appointed by the administrator in chief, General Field Marshall Count Gudovich, to stay with a detachment of guards at the monastery, I witnessed the utmost care given to the sick and wounded of all ranks by the clergy of Etchmiadzin. I thus presented them with this declaration of appreciation. Major Cherkasov.

## 179

*Minas Lazarev to Tsar Alexander*(December 1808)<sup>2</sup>

His Holiness, the catholicos of the Armenian people, Daniël, confirmed in his position by Your Majesty, is not in good health and feels that his life may end at any time. He has asked me to humbly remind you of the message he sent to Your Imperial Highness, in which he asked that Ep'rem, the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia, be named catholicos after his death. The Armenian people, both religious and lay, have approved of this nomination. As Your Majesty remembers, Ep'rem was appointed by Daniël, as his deputy in 1802 and 1803, during the latter's confinement in Persia [Erevan]. He was trusted and managed to foil Dawit's intrigues. Ep'rem's loyalty to Russia is beyond doubt. Dawit' is still trying to assume control of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin. He is disloyal and has conspired with the Persians and other enemies of Russia....

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<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 19, doc. 136.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 153), 82, original in AVPR, Armenian Affairs (1803-1809), file 186, ff. 254-255.

## 180

*General Gudovich to General Akhverdov*(26 January 1809)<sup>1</sup>

The commander of the Saratov Musketeers, Colonel Popov, has sent twenty-eight Armenians from Koi to Tiflis. I order that you permit them to live anywhere in Georgia save Tiflis, for such people will need rations from the market, which will result in the increase of prices for all inhabitants.

## 181

*Count Saltykov<sup>2</sup> to General Gudovich*(29 January 1809)<sup>3</sup>

The Armenian catholicos, Daniël, due to the declining state of his health, has submitted a written request to His Majesty<sup>4</sup> that we confirm Archbishop Ep'rem, who is the choice of the entire Armenian nation, as his successor prior to his death, so that he can assume the position without delay in the event of Daniël's death. I also have a letter from our counselor Lazarev<sup>5</sup> to this effect.

His Majesty the Emperor wishes to accept the will of the Armenian people regarding the election of their catholicos. His Highness has asked me to send you copies of the letters from the catholicos and from Lazarev.

Your Excellency is familiar with the situation in the region. It goes without saying that we have to support a candidate who is not only acceptable to the Armenian people, but one who will benefit the Russian Empire. His Imperial Majesty awaits your recommendation.

In the event that Catholicos Daniël dies suddenly, we have to make sure that his successor is one who is loyal to Russia, otherwise the Persians will fill the post with their own candidate. His Imperial High-

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 16, file 745, f. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Count Saltykov, the old tutor of Tsar Alexander, served as an advisor. In 1812 he became a member of a committee to appoint a new commander in chief to counter Napoleon's advance into Russia. The committee appointed Prince Michael I. Kutuzov.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, III (doc. 153), 81-82. Dispatched from St. Petersburg.

<sup>4</sup> The letter of Daniël to the tsar is in *ibid.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> Minas's letter is in *ibid.*, 82.

ness instructs you that should this occur, you should immediately appoint a bishop who is loyal to Russia and to his people....

## 182

*General Gudovich to Count Saltykov*(18 February 1809)<sup>1</sup>

I have received your letter of 29 January and have read His Majesty's instructions. I inform you that the Armenian Catholicos, Daniël, while in ill health, was forcibly taken from Etchmiadzin to Erevan by the Persians and died there when his illness worsened during the siege of that city [1808]. The brotherhood of Etchmiadzin gathered immediately and, following the wishes of the late catholicos, elected Archbishop Ep'rem, the Prelate of the Armenians in Russia. I have observed that the catholicos-elect is acceptable to the Armenians in Georgia. Ep'rem has lived in Russia and has been favored by His Imperial Majesty. Dawit' continues to have his eye on the throne, but is not respected by most of the Armenians and is loyal to the Persians.... We have to make it clear to the Persian court that their voluntary confirmation of Ep'rem will result in facilitating the peace process. In the meantime, Ep'rem should not travel to Etchmiadzin, which is in the hands of the Persians. He should come to Tiflis, where he can lead his flock and Church until such time when relations with Persia have improved.

## 183

*General Gudovich to General Akhverdov*(17 March 1809)<sup>2</sup>

Armenians from Erevan who have come to Shamkhor have written to me that they are afraid to settle there, for it is close to Erevan and they could be taken by the soldiers of the khan of Erevan. They have requested that they be permitted to settle in the T'elavi or Tiflis counties. I assure you that there is empty land in those counties where they

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, III (doc. 155), 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 469), 265.

could settle. I must also add that Yüzbaşı Hovhannēs is not their lord but simply their leader.

IV  
(April 1809-October 1811)

184  
*General Tormasov<sup>1</sup> to Colonel As'ev*  
(22 April 1809)<sup>2</sup>

Armenian and Tatar citizens from Tiflis and Elisavetpol' have been fleeing to Karabagh. Count Gudovich had written about this, but so far no one has been returned. I have received information that the inhabitants of Bol'nis and other villages continue to flee to Karabagh. I order that you contact the elders of the region and instruct them to immediately gather the refugees and send them back with Lieutenant Colonel Orbelianov. Let everyone know they should not give shelter to them. If someone does, report it to me directly.

185  
*Archbishop Hovhannēs to Tsar Alexander*  
(10 May 1809)<sup>3</sup>

Many people, including the Armenians in Georgia, enjoy Russia's religious tolerance and thank Your Imperial Majesty for the freedom to practice their religion. Armenians living in the Persian khanates who have submitted to the Russian scepter hoped that the same tolerance would be accorded to them and that they would be spared their long sacrifices for their religion. But their hopes were not realized, and they had to continue paying the special dues collected from Christians. They petitioned the [previous] administrator in chief of Georgia, Ivan Vasil'evich Gudovich. He wrote to Ĵa'far-qolī Khan of Sheki to tell

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<sup>1</sup> General Alexander Petrovich Tormasov, administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1808 to 1811.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK.*, IV (doc. 696), 489.

<sup>3</sup> *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 21, doc. 43.

him that collecting tax for religious beliefs from Armenians living in his khanate did not conform to God's will, was not approved by Your Imperial Majesty, was against Russian law, and should cease forever, for it was against Russian law, but it seems that the tax has continued under another name....

I can prove that those who do not follow the Christian faith, pay less taxes in that khanate. As a pastor of those Armenians, I am obliged to submit their tearful prayers and petition Your Highness to end this discriminatory tax, which is demanded as a payment for following Christ. Like all people in the Empire, they too should have the freedom to pursue their own faith....<sup>1</sup>

## 186

*General Tormasov to Archbishop Hovhannēs*(10 May 1809)<sup>2</sup>

In response to your letter informing me that your prior had collected 26½ *samars* of grain from Pambak province for the Etchmiadzin monastery, I have the honor to inform you that, following our general practice, I have instructed the Georgian provisional depot to purchase the grain at the current Pambak province price. I have instructed Colonel Popov, the commander of the troops of that province, to store it. Meanwhile, as it is my duty to be aware of all that transpires in the region under my command, I would like to know how the dues for Etchmiadzin are collected. I also humbly request that Your Grace communicate to me to whom these funds are forwarded. Were the dues in previous years forwarded to Etchmiadzin or were they used otherwise? I have no information whatsoever of this matter, which explains my rather sharp request.

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<sup>1</sup> On 13 October, Ep'rem, now catholicos, sent a letter to St. Petersburg reiterating that religious taxation was continuing under a different name, and asked the government to instruct Tormasov to order the khan and the Armenian population in the khanate to explain their respective positions, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 21, doc. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1809), file 220, f. 77.



## 187

**General Tormasov to Archbishop Hovhannēs**  
(11 May 1809)<sup>1</sup>

In respond to your letter of 6 May, in which you assert that it is essential that you establish a consistory, I have the honor to inform you that although I agree that it would be useful to have such a council here [Tiflis], I think it would be more correct if we, with your permission, present a petition to obtain the approval of the head of the Georgian Church, Catholicos Antoni.<sup>2</sup> After that, I shall make a formal presentation to the State Holy Synod [St. Petersburg] and request that they approve the establishment of an Armenian religious assembly [with the understanding that] it will conform exactly to all similar religious assemblies in the Russian provinces.<sup>3</sup>

## 188

**General Tormasov to General Akhverdov**  
(May 1809)<sup>4</sup>

As to the matter of your report regarding the immigrants from Erevan: From the time they left Erevan, more than four years ago, they have not paid any taxes to the treasury. Thus your suggestion that it would be advantageous for us to move them to Lori in exchange for three years exemption from taxes is another loss to the treasury. In addition, the state has to protect them against plunderers. I suggest, therefore, that we keep them here in Tiflis and tax them according to their ability. The income may be diverted to pay the salaries of the melik and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Anton II [Anton Erekle-dze Batonishvili] last catholicos of Georgia (1788-1811).

<sup>3</sup> In June and December of 1809, Tormasov informed Archbishop Hovhannēs that he had written to Prince Golitsyn, Chief Magistrate of the Holy Synod, that it would be beneficial to establish an Armenian consistory, provided that it followed the regulations established for other Armenian religious councils in Russia. He asked the archbishop to find candidates for such a council and to confer with Etchmiadzin as to its use of Church revenues, *AKAK*, IV (doc. 253), 172, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1809), file 148, ff. 97-99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 52-53.

yüzbaşı. Once we have prepared a strong military post in Lori, then, if they still desire it, we may relocate them there.

## 189

*General Tormasov to Mahdī-qolī Khan*(July 1809)<sup>1</sup>

I have received the report of Lt. Col. Prince Orbelianov, who was dispatched to Karabagh to bring back the Armenians of the village of Bol'nis who had fled there. It has been decided that the Armenians can stay there until the collection of the harvest is over, so that they will not suffer financial ruin. After that they must return to Bol'nis without delay or excuse....<sup>2</sup>

## 190

*Armenians of Elisavetpol' to Counselor Ivanov*(18 July 1809)<sup>3</sup>

The Armenians have been in this region for a long time and, relying on your kindness, we request the following: 1) During the time of Jāvād Khan there were no *rahdar* (road toll) charges or custom duties. After the Russian conquest, specifically three years ago, they began collecting from every load of cotton goods 1.30 rubles and from silken items 5 rubles. If the items are not sold and are returned, they are taxed on their return as well. If a merchant packs a load of various goods for Tiflis he is charged 8 rubles per load and has to pay an additional duty in Tiflis. 2) Silversmiths have to pay 4 kopeks for each *zolotnik*<sup>4</sup> of weight, something which did not exist under the khan or in Tsitsianov's time, but was introduced by the previous commandant of Elisavetpol', Kochnev. The silversmiths have thus been limited to 200 *zolotniks* each a year. 3) The khan collected from the grain harvest as much as he needed, but not everyone planted grain. Prince Tsitsianov ordered all to plant grain and thus the city was flooded with it. Last

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 144.

<sup>2</sup> On July 13, a similar letter was sent to Akhverdov, *ibid.*, f. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, IV (doc. 697), 489-490.

<sup>4</sup> Russian measure of weight equal to 1/96th of a Russian *pud*.

year, the present commandant, Iakimov, farmed out the irrigation canals, which were used by us to irrigate our orchards and grain fields [we now have to pay for water]. Water was free during the khan's time, unless it belonged to the khan in which case we paid for it. 4) In the time of the khan, potters [from outside the city] brought their wares to the city for sale and the khan received a small percentage from each sale. Commandant Kochnev ordered that all pots be made by potters in town. The government pays 10 kopeks for each pot and sells it for 25 kopeks, forbidding potters from selling their wares. 5) Raw silk that is brought to the city for sale is assessed 1.05 rubles for each half *pud*; if it is in transit, 13 rubles per load. 6) From gardens that produce watermelons and melons, they take 2.20 rubles, plus one load of the product. 7) During the time of the khan the alum works were never farmed out. Alum was produced and sold freely. The late Tsitsianov, realizing the value of alum for the state, ordered that it be produced freely and be sold to the state at 1 ruble per *pud*. Iakimov has farmed out the alum works and now the works are closed until the state sells its stockpile. Many villagers, having no other income, are reduced to poverty. 8) We paid Ĵavād Khan 80 rubles per year for our grape orchards and sold grapes and wine freely. We did not have many vineyards, however. With the arrival of the Russians we tried to make more red wine.<sup>1</sup> Kochnev farmed out the sale of wine. No one can sell wine. They buy it from us at 25 kopeks per measure and sell it to the Russian soldiers at 50 kopeks. Many have abandoned their vineyards, which has created a major problem since half of our annual tax of 1,500 rubles came from the gardens and orchards. 9) Neither Ĵavād Khan nor Tsitsianov farmed out ice. Iakimov changed that and for the past two years it has been transformed into public donations. 10) The weighing fee in the *meydān* (main square) was as follows: If you weighed your grain or flour, you paid one *pud* for every 30 *puds* of weight. One could sell whatever one wished in the market. Now the tax-collector arbitrarily collects his due from every sale. 11) During the time of Ĵavād Khan and Tsitsianov we did not supply the state with carts, we only paid the 1,500 rubles [cited above]. But starting this January we had to give the state 500 carts and wagons at a fixed price

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<sup>1</sup> The Muslims, unlike the Christians, are not permitted to drink, hence the change in wine-making activities.

of 1.50 rubles and were forced to rent 250 at 7.50 rubles each, and another 250 on which we paid 5 rubles each. 12) Anyone who wishes to produce charcoal for sale has to pay 10 rubles for each charcoal pit.

We have thus explained our difficulties and problems and ask that in your kindness you help us by instructing the chief administrator [of Transcaucasia] to treat us the same way as the Armenians in Russia [proper], for example those in New Nakhichevan are treated.<sup>1</sup>

## 191

*Tsar Alexander to General Tormasov*

(31 September 1809)<sup>2</sup>

In view of Our respect for the loyalty and services of Archbishop Ep'rem, Our former Prelate of the Armenians in the Russian Empire, and following the wishes of the Armenian nation, we confirm him in the office of catholicos. We issue this decree by which he is entitled to all the prerogatives of his new office. We send you a copy of the official decree so that you will not forget to honor him and to inform all the Armenian religious hierarchy in your region to follow his orders. Signed by the order of His Imperial Majesty, Chancellor Rumiantsev and assistant deputy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Saltykov....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1810, 38 Armenian and 75 Tatar elders of the city of Elisavetpol' petitioned Tormasov not to permit the Ayrumlu tribe to settle in Shamshadil. They stated that the tribe was their main supplier of butter, cheese, yoghurt, milk, honey, meat, and lumber, *AKAK*, IV (doc. 705), 493. Iakimov also agreed with the Armenian and Tatar elders and by the end of 1811, the Ayrumlu tribe was forgiven its unauthorized move and was relocated to Elisavetpol'. To assure that the tribe did not migrate or engage in illegal activities, it was suggested that they give hostages in the summer months, *ibid.*, V (doc. 164) 117-118. In 1811, 45 Armenian and 35 Tatar elders wrote to the new administrator in chief of the Caucasus, Paulucci, requesting that he replace the commandant of Elisavetpol' with the previous commandant of Shamshadil, Captain Ladin-skii. On 10 October 1811, Paulucci responded angrily, stating that their main duty was to obey the government and pay their taxes and that they had no right to request commandants whom they favored. He concluded that he would forgive their mistake this time but he that they would be punished if they dared to question government officials again, *ibid.*, V (doc. 162), 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (doc. 254), 173.

<sup>3</sup> Count Nicholas Petrovich Rumiantsev (1765-1826) was elevated to the rank of state councilor by Alexander in 1802. During his career he served minister of commerce, director of navigation, minister of foreign affairs, and state chancellor. He re-

## 192

*Armenian Archbishops to General Tormasov*  
(9 October 1809)<sup>1</sup>

‘Abbās Mīrzā and Hōseyn-qolī Khan Sardar have given their approval to Catholicos Ep‘rem, as the choice of the Armenian people. Ep‘rem’s delay in arriving here<sup>2</sup> has once again given hope to the self-serving pseudo-catholicos Dawit‘, who, ignoring His Majesty’s decree and the wish of the Armenians, has engaged in intrigues to convince the Persians that Ep‘rem’s choice is not final. He managed to present an anti-Christian petition to ‘Abbās Mīrzā. Fortunately the prince has not, as yet, paid too much attention to Dawit‘’s claims. Please send an official notice to ‘Abbās Mīrzā stating that Ep‘rem is indeed the choice of the Armenians and has received His Majesty’s approval....

## 193

*General Tormasov to General Akhverdov*  
(19 October 1809)<sup>3</sup>

I submit the petition of Melik Bagor Beg Beglarov of Karabagh, regarding his wish to leave Borchalu and to return to Karabagh, not far from Elisavetpol’, with his peasants. Please let me know if, in your opinion, it is possible to relocate them in such a manner that they will be subjects of Elisavetpol’ and not Karabagh. In addition, you must forbid the Borchalu Tatars to oppress the followers of the melik.

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tired in 1814 but remained active in diplomatic circles and was involved in the Russian expansion in the Caucasus. Alexander’s official decree, affixed with the Seal of Russia, is attached to the order, see *SAAN*, I, 254-256.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, IV (doc. 255), 173-174. Written in Etchmiadzin.

<sup>2</sup> Ep‘rem reached Tiflis in early July 1810 and arrived in Etchmiadzin in October, *ibid.*, (doc. 256), 174.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2 (1809), file 148, ff. 228-229.

## 194

*General Tormasov to General Akhverdov*(20 November 1809)<sup>1</sup>

Your communiqué (no. 4985) mentions that some inhabitants of Shuragol have refused to pay their dues to the *mourav* of Pambak. I suggest that in the future, regardless of the individuals involved, if anyone refuses to obey the law, the local official confer with the elders of the group and ascertain on the spot the reason for it. If he finds that they are justified, he must either give them extra time [to make the payment], reduce the burden, or nullify it altogether. However, if there is no good reason and if the elders do not agree with the action, then the law has been broken, and the strictest punishment is in order, regardless of who it is. I thus demand that you immediately report the reasons for the refusal of the Shuragol inhabitants to pay their taxes.<sup>2</sup>

## 195

*Hoseyn-qoli Khan to Catholicos Ep'rem*(Fall 1809)<sup>3</sup>

Blessed and esteemed chief of the nation who obeys Christ, radiant as the sun in heaven, Ep'rem.

In our eternal love and friendship to you, we remind you that after the death of the supreme Catholicos Ghukas, Archbishop Dawit', illegally and without the consent of the brotherhood of Etchmiadzin, usurped the throne, appointed his supporters, and forced the rest to flee to various places. When we arrived in Erevan, following the tsar's and the son of our shah's wishes, we removed him from the throne and

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IV (doc. 679), 483.

<sup>2</sup> The case involved an Armenian family, the Harutiunovs, who had emigrated from Kars in 1807 and who had been given land in Shuragol by Nesvetaev and the local commander Major Kananov. They had constructed two water mills and an oil press. In June of 1809 the new commander, Prince Orbelianov, illegally took the mills and the press and gave them to the brother of Budagh Sultan, Mamish Bek. The family thus refused to pay taxes and requested to be permitted to relocate to Kara-Kilisa and to take their belongings with them, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1809), file 8774, f. 2. On 2 December, Tormasov wrote to Akhverdov to look into the matter, *ibid.*, f. 1.

<sup>3</sup> AVPR, Armenian Affairs (1803-1809), file 186, ff. 314-315.

installed Daniēl, who had the support of the entire Christian [Armenian] nation. But just as the Holy See began its recovery, fate intervened and took his life, leaving the throne vacant....

We sought a new candidate and were informed that it was the wish of the late catholicos, as well as all the Christians, that you, Ep'rem, be their leader. I informed the Prince ['Abbās Mīrzā] of this and he has issued an official decree of your appointment. I am forwarding the decree and other documents with Bishop Reteos (Matt'ēos?). We hope that upon receipt of these you will immediately come to occupy your throne, thus forestalling any possible action on the part of Dawit'. You may hurry here without the slightest hesitation as to your safety, authority, or peaceful existence....

## 196

*General Tormasov to General Akhverdov*  
(18 December 1809)<sup>1</sup>

An Armenian Catholic of Kara-Kilisa, the priest Varlaam, has written a petition complaining about the actions of Ĵa'far Beg against his community. I suggest that you inquire about this matter and, to make sure that Ĵa'far Beg does not vent his anger, have them [the Armenians] guarded by the military commander. If you find out that Ĵa'far Beg has authority over them, then make sure that he does not demand more than required.

## 197

*General Tormasov to Archbishop Hovhannēs*  
(1809)<sup>2</sup>

In response to your suggestion that it is imperative that we establish an Armenian consistory in Tiflis, that this would benefit the Armenian churches in Transcaucasia, and that we must regulate their income and their hierarchy, I wrote to His Excellency the chief procurator of the Holy Synod, Prince Golitsyn.<sup>3</sup> I asked his approval and his suggestions

<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group, 2 (1809), file 148, f. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 97-98.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Nikolaevich Golitsyn, head of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg.

to make the consistory conform to the rules that govern Armenian religious institutions in Russia. Since according to custom the catholicos at Etchmiadzin has jurisdiction in this region, I suggest that prior to the receipt of an answer from the Synod, you create a religious commission composed of senior members of the churches in our region to confer on this matter and to ascertain the exact number of clerics....

## 198

*From the Journal of General Tormasov*(19 March 1810)<sup>1</sup>

The commandant of Elisavetpol', Lt. Col. Iakimov reported that the Armenians residing in the city of Elisavetpol' and the settlement of Klisakan have requested a reduction in their heavy taxes, which amount to 3,756 silver rubles and 80 kopeks annually. They add that the Armenians of Tiflis, who total 6,000 souls and who have the advantage of the best trade in the region, pay only 4,000 rubles annually. Iakimov has determined that the Armenians are indeed paying a large amount since there are only 819 males among them and, in addition to their annual tax in wheat, they have to pay more than 600 rubles just for the upkeep of the fortress and the local police. I have forwarded this to the minister of finance....

## 199

*General Tormasov to General Akhverdov*(8 April 1810)<sup>2</sup>

The ruler of Varanda, Lt. Col. Melik Jamshid Shahnazarean, has informed the state commission [in Tiflis] that the commandant of Elisavetpol', Iakimov, has demanded taxes from his subjects, who are temporarily in Elisavetpol'. Melik Jamshid, on his relocation from Karabagh to Tiflis, was given a decree by Tsar Paul that his subjects would continue to belong to him....When Melik Jamshid was permitted by the late Tsitsianov to relocate to his domains in Karabagh, some of his subjects remained in Elisavetpol' until conditions were satisfac-

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2 (1808), file 183, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, IV (doc. 704) 492-493.



tory in Karabagh. They were exempt at that point from all state taxes. In examining the documents in our chancery I have discovered that the permission given in 1805 was for temporary residence. The subjects of Melik Jamshid have now for some time [5 years] been living in Russia. I thus suggest that you convince Melik Jamshid to order his subjects in Elisavetpol' to pay some taxes to the treasury. You could point out that the people of Karabagh are paying taxes since they have come under Russian protection and that the melik has to think of the welfare of society and not of himself.

## 200

*Catholicos Ep'rem to Count Rumiantsev*  
(30 July 1810)<sup>1</sup>

There are people from the Araratian See who, several years ago, left their lands and sought refuge here [in Georgia]. They all await His Imperial Majesty's permission to return home. Among them are the inhabitants of one village [Vagharshapat] that is located next to Etchmiadzin. They were practically the only group responsible for the upkeep of our cathedral, plowing our fields, working in our gardens, and generally performing all external and internal duties that the peasants carry out for their landlords. Their absence has left the Holy See without any workers or income for its upkeep. I fear that on my return there I will not be able to sustain the daily needs of our brotherhood, which requires the daily labor of some five hundred souls.

I, therefore, appeal to you, esteemed count, to use your closeness to His Imperial Highness to facilitate the return of at least the peasants of those villages that belong to Etchmiadzin, the control over whom will enable us to carry on with our duties and our prayers for the long life of His Majesty.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, File 253, ff. 16-17 (written in Tiflis).

<sup>2</sup> On 30 October, Rumiantsev wrote to Tormasov that he had no information on the Armenian refugees and thus prior to asking the tsar he needed a report on the number of peasants who had come from villages near Etchmiadzin, *ibid.*, f. 15.

## 201

*Decree of the State Council of St. Petersburg*(7 August 1810)<sup>1</sup>

The State Council, in its general meeting, has examined the opinions of the Department of Civilian and Religious Affairs and the minister of the interior regarding the noble status of the Armenian family of Geghamov [Geghamean], who have settled in Tiflis from Erevan. We therefore communicate the following to the administrator in chief in Georgia, General Tormasov:

1) The Armenian subjects of the Geghamovs should pay them ten percent of their income [in cash or kind].

2) General Tormasov shall determine the proper monetary compensation for the hardships endured by the Geghamovs in relocating themselves and their subjects to Georgia.

## 202

*Kadḡoda Reḡā's Affidavit*(August 1810)<sup>2</sup>

An Armenian from Pambak called Vardan was taken prisoner in the war. Reḡā, the kadḡoda of the Miskinlu tribe, delivered him to the monks of Etchmiadzin. Reḡā claimed that Aḡmad Aqa, one of the subordinates of the sardar, freed the Armenian on condition that he pay a ransom of twenty *tomāns*. As the said Armenian was brought to Etchmiadzin, the monks had to pay the sum and free him.

Since the monks were not certain whether the sardar had indeed released the above Armenian, Kadḡoda Reḡā gave them this paper in case they had to answer to the sardar.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IV (doc. 717), 498. The decree was signed by Tsar Alexander and was dispatched to Tormasov by Privy Counselor Kozodavlev on August 26.

<sup>2</sup> The document was written in *Rajab* 1225 (2-31 August, 1810), MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 1, doc. 609.

## 203

*'Abbās Mīrzā to Catholicos Ep'rem*  
(1810)<sup>1</sup>

To the exalted and highly esteemed Christian Caliph, Ep'rem. You can be assured of our favor. We are please that on the 10 of *Ĵomādā II* [*Hijrī*] you arrived safely in Tiflis and will soon come to Ūč-Kīlīsā. Since we did not know of your arrival, we have not had time to decorate the monastery in your honor. I hope that you shall ignore that and hurry here so that we, God willing, will meet with you. Our heart desires your presence, as that of a radiant sun. Please hurry so that we can offer our respect and show our favor.

## 204

*Count Rumiantsev to General Tormasov*  
(30 October 1810)<sup>2</sup>

Following the petition of Catholicos Ep'rem, His Majesty has ordered that all the money and other items belonging to Etchmiadzin, which has been in safekeeping in Tiflis, be returned to the Holy See. If the catholicos wishes to leave some items in Tiflis for safety, you are to assist him in every way possible....

## 205

*Catholicos Ep'rem to Tsar Alexander*  
(5 December 1810)<sup>3</sup>

Blessed and Most Powerful Ruler on Earth,  
Emperor Alexander Pavlovich, Autocrat of All the Russias  
I, the worthless slave of Jesus Christ, Ep'rem, Catholicos of All Armenians and Supreme Patriarch of the Araratian See in Etchmiadzin, pray humbly for God's and Christ's blessing upon You and assure You that to my last breath I shall remember Your Majesty. Your support made it possible for me to attain the [Armenian ecclesiastical]

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IV (doc. 258), 176. Written in the month of *Ša'bān*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 257), 175-176.

<sup>3</sup> AVPR, Armenian Affairs (1810-1829), file 1, ff. 1-5.

throne and to travel unhindered all the way to the settlement of Hamamlu (Spitak), the last Christian [Russian] encampment before entering the Araratian region, where, thanks to a Russian escort, I was safely transported to Etchmiadzin on the ninth day of October, where I met with the brotherhood and together we prayed for Your Majesty and Your dynasty....

Most Benevolent Sovereign: Although the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin after 1500 years of ravage is devoid of ornaments and has lost its grandeur, I thank God that with the help of our Holy Council--and especially two of its members, Archbishops Barsegh and Nersēs, who gained the favor of 'Abbās Mīrzā, the heir to the throne of Persia, as well as the khan of Erevan-- the See, to my great surprise and delight, has been very well maintained [during the ten years of chaos]. I therefore, with Your Majesty's kind consent, have, in front of our entire brotherhood, presented Archbishop Barsegh with a jewel-encrusted *panagia*.

Furthermore, the Lord has continued his blessings upon me, for when I met the heir to the throne of Persia, he accorded me great respect and showed his devotion by presenting me with robes of honor (*kal'at*) and an annual salary. The benevolent God continued to shine His Grace upon me and, with Your Majesty's confirmation, I was anointed with the holy *muron* on 9 November, during a holy liturgy which asked the presence of the Holy Spirit. During the ceremony I made the following prayer: God, save and protect our Imperial Majesty, Alexander Pavlovich and his August Wife, and the entire Imperial Household for many years to come.

....May Your Highness not deprive me of Your kindness and support, You to whose scepter I entrust the Holy See of Etchmiadzin and the entire Armenian nation.

## 206

*General Tormasov to Count Rumiantsev*(29 December 1810)<sup>1</sup>

I had asked Catholicos Ep'rem to wait in Tiflis until the Persian government prepared his anointment as befits the catholicos of All Armenians. I have the duty to report that 'Abbās Mīrzā wrote a very gracious letter inviting the catholicos to come, and His Holiness decided to leave for Etchmiadzin and was escorted with great honor to the border. I have recently received two letters from him stating that he was welcomed by the prince and by Persian senior officials and that on 6 November he was anointed in the presence of the Armenian clergy. The Persian government has presented the catholicos with an annual stipend of 4,000 rubles, something no other catholicos has been given in the past. In addition he shall have a two-horse vanguard instead of one....

Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis has reported that the Persians sent a superb escort right to the border to meet the catholicos with great pomp and ceremony. Representatives from the Armenian communities of Mozdok, Astrakhan, and Georgia were present....

## 207

*General Tormasov to the Armenian and Tatar Elders of Elisavetpol'*(28 June 1811)<sup>2</sup>

I have received your petition in which you state that you cannot spare 100 men to join our cavalry. But you do ask that we provide 300 soldiers to protect you from Persian raids and to guard your grain on its way to the market in the city. I have to inform you, honorable men of Elisavetpol', that His Imperial Majesty already provides you not with 300, but with a battalion of more than 500 men to guard you. Infantry,

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IV (doc. 259), 176-177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (doc. 707), 493-494.

however, needs a cavalry escort and I hereby order that you must give 100 men to form our cavalry unit....<sup>1</sup>

## 208

*Archbishop Nersēs to General Lisanevich*

(19 October 1811)<sup>2</sup>

My dear sir, Mitr Tikhinich (Dmitrii Tikhonovich).

Yesterday after your departure, I received the response of the great sardar [khan of Erevan] in which he states that animosity should be replaced by peace and friendship. He adds that since, prior to this, there have been numerous acts of enmity between Persia and Russia, he [the khan] cannot on his own come to terms with your proposals and has to inform his superior [the shah]. It would be beneficial if, upon your return, you would send someone else to continue to develop our friendship and reach an agreement.

Dear sir, I implore you to consider this request, for we [Armenians] pray for the day when peace is restored between your two great states. You will thus be blessed by the gospel peacemakers.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The raids were from the Erevan region. Similar raids were reported by Armenian villages in Kapan and Bargushat on the Arax in Karabagh (present-day Zangezur), see *AKAK*, IV (docs. 818, 820), 548-549. Such reports abound throughout 1810-1811.

<sup>2</sup> *MAAC*, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 164a, doc. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Nersēs sent another letter soon after (no date) to Lisanevich, in which he stated that the sardar was visiting Etchmiadzin when he received the news that the Russian army had withdrawn from the confrontation and had returned to their positions. He was so pleased and convinced of the sincerity of the action that he ordered the withdrawal of his troops and sent pilaf and bread as a sign of friendship and hospitality. The sardar hoped that from then on, negotiations for peace would replace hostile actions, *ibid.*, doc. 8. More than a year later, however, Russia, after Napoleon's retreat, demanded more concrete action from the khan of Erevan. The new administrator in chief of the Caucasus, Rtishchev, wrote on 17 January 1813 to Catholicos Ep'rem and asked that he inform the khan that Russia was ready to exchange prisoners of war and awaited an official petition for peace from the Persian government, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1813), file 379, ff. 57-62. On 28 May, Rtishchev asked Catholicos Ep'rem to act as a mediator and convince the Persians of the futility of resistance and the benefits of concluding peace with Russia, *ibid.*, ff. 235-239.

V  
(November 1811-April 1816)

209  
*General Paulucci<sup>1</sup> to Counselor Malinskii<sup>2</sup>*  
(16 November 1811)<sup>3</sup>

The Armenians of Shuragol and Pambak have sent a petition stating that they are being oppressed by their administrative chief, Budagh Sultan, and by other Muslim officials appointed over them by Major General Lisanevich. They add that they were to pay an annual tax of 500 rubles in wheat and barley to Budagh Sultan, but he is now demanding an additional 600 rubles as his salary. They request that we rid them of Budagh Sultan.

I request that you appoint a state inspector to verify the accuracy of the Armenian complaints regarding Budagh Sultan and other Muslim officials in that region. I would appreciate it if you inform me of his report and of your opinion in this matter. I have reported this to the military supervisor of Pambak-Shuragol, Major General Prince Orbelianov.

210  
*Armenians of Erevan to General Paulucci*  
(5 June 1812)<sup>4</sup>

In 1805 Gabriël Yüzbaşı and Barsegh Melik Shahnazar, together with fifteen hundred households, left Erevan for Georgia and accepted Russian protection. Prince Tsitsianov, the administrator in chief at the

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<sup>1</sup> Marquis and General Philipp (Filip) Osipovich Paulucci (1779-1849). Administrator in chief of the Caucasus (1811-1812).

<sup>2</sup> Senior civilian official in Georgia. Governor of Georgia from 1812 to 1816.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, V (doc. 157), 115.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 16 (1812), file 1437, f. 3.

time, permitted one hundred households to settle in Elisavetpol'; the rest of us stayed in Tiflis supported by the treasury, where we still remain in conditions of poverty. We have no land and no income. The funds we receive from the treasury are not enough to feed our families. We, therefore, beg Your Excellency to take pity on us and permit our twenty families to relocate to Elisavetpol' where we would be able to sustain ourselves on the income from the treasury. For this we shall bless your name until our death.

## 211

*Governor Malinskii to General Rtishchev*<sup>1</sup>(9 January 1813)<sup>2</sup>

The commandant of Tiflis, Lt. Col. Leventsov, reports that the following citizens of Tiflis: Osip Melikov, Aslan Teimurazov, Avtandil Chkharov, Pepan Khechaturov, Egor Dzhidzhoev, Osip Amirov, Noni Akhnazarov, Noni Paramuzov, Shakar Galustov, Isak Petruzov, stewards and peasants of Prince Ivan Bektabekov, Kaikhosro Tarkhanov of the treasury and two of his landowners, Sosiashvili and Khechatur, wish to travel to Erevan for purposes of trade. They have obtained from the *mokalake*<sup>3</sup> of Tiflis supporting affidavits, which have been forwarded to me.

Except for the stewards of Prince Ivan Bektabekov, all are citizens who have paid their taxes and are considered respectable merchants. They have houses, families, and income. In addition each of them, including the stewards of Prince Bektabekov, have set bail until their return.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Fedorovich Rtishchev (1754-1835) participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812. In 1812 he was appointed administrator in chief of the Caucasian Line and Georgia. He represented Russia in the peace negotiations and was a signatory of the Gulistan treaty. He retired in 1816.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, record group 2/1 (1813), file 325, f. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Respected citizens of Tiflis who had wealth, generally merchants or craftsmen.

<sup>4</sup> On 18 December Simanovich sent a similar letter to Rtishchev regarding the merchants Moses Ter-Stepanov, Ohanez Melik-Shahnazarov, Vardan Stepanov, and others who were traveling to Tehran for trade, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 (1813), file 325, f. 96. F. 97. On 19 December, he asked permission for Stepan Meburnutov to travel to Tehran.



## 212

*General Rtishchev to Governor Malinskii*(17 January 1813)<sup>1</sup>

His Imperial Majesty's decree has given the Armenian catholicos, Ep'rem, full authority over the religious affairs of his people in the Russian Empire. Based on this right, the most honest Catholicos Ep'rem, on ascending the throne, sent Archbishop Astuatsatur to Tiflis a year ago as his representative and as the head of the Armenian religious hierarchy in Georgia. The archbishop has already assumed his position, but since Etchmiadzin is in Persian territory, all religious officials from there have to be trusted by His Majesty.<sup>2</sup> We have to be sure that they will not exceed their religious authority and harm our state. Hence, I delegate to you, as head of the province, to go on the 19th, that is, this Sunday, to the Armenian cathedral and witness the document presented to Astuatsatur. Please forward the document to me so that I can dispatch it to the state chancellor....

## 213

*General Rtishchev to Catholicos Ep'rem*(28 May 1813)<sup>3</sup>

Respecting Your Holiness's worthy and benevolent efforts concerning negotiations for peace and for the exchange of prisoners, I am willing to do my part to bring an agreement between the two states. If appointed I shall be glad to talk to the esteemed and highly placed sardar of Erevan, Hoseyn-qolī Khan, who enjoys the trust and respect of his government, or to any other official appointed and trusted by the august ruler of Persia. I am here as His Imperial Majesty's representative. Until [I am appointed] it is not proper for me to involve myself in this affair, which has to be negotiated by those who have been officially appointed by their respective governments. When the great

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 16 (1813), file 1560, f. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Russians required a loyalty oath.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1 (1813), file 379, ff. 238-239.

sardar, Hōseyn-qolī Khan, is empowered by his court to discuss the exchange of prisoners, I shall be ready at all times....<sup>1</sup>

## 214

*Tsar Alexander to the Armenian People*(15 September 1813)<sup>2</sup>

With the Grace of God, We, Alexander I, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias [etc.].

To our beloved and loyal Armenian people, of all ranks, residing in Georgia. Our Imperial favor upon you.

With great satisfaction We examined the reports submitted by Our administrator in chief in Georgia regarding the loyalty and service of the Armenians of Georgia, who have shown their devotion in all circumstances. They have stood with Us during difficult times and have demonstrated their sincerity to Our throne. They have sacrificed their belongings and even their lives in Our service. We, therefore, let the whole world know Our kind disposition towards the Armenians of Georgia. Let this be remembered by future generations. Written by Us in the city of Teplice in Bohemia, on the 15 day of September in the Year of the Lord 1813 in the thirteenth year of Our Rule.<sup>3</sup> Alexander.

Countersigned by the State Chancellor, Count Rumiantsev

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<sup>1</sup> On the same day, Rtishchev asked the catholicos to convince the Persians to sign a peace treaty as soon as possible and stated that a Russian envoy had been dispatched to 'Abbās Mīrzā in Tabriz, *ibid.*, ff. 235-238. As early as 17 January, Catholicos Ep'rem was asked to act as the go-between the sardar of Erevan and the administrator in chief of the Caucasian Line, see *ibid.*, ff. 57-62.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, V (doc. 1058), 915, also in SAAN, I, 258-259.

<sup>3</sup> On 20 November, Rtishchev wrote to Simanovich that the decree should be publicized among the Armenians in Tiflis, AKAK, V (doc. 287), 230. Alexander's decree was in response to the end of hostilities between Russia and Persia. On 30 September (12 October), 1813 the Treaty of Gulistan was signed (ratifications were exchanged in Tiflis on 3/15 September 1814). Article II of the treaty designated the new border based on *status quo ad presentem*. The lands north of the Arax (except for the khanates of Nakhichevan and Erevan) were ceded to Russia. The fate of the khanate of Talesh, as well as the regions of Shuragol and Pambak were left unresolved. The demarcation was so ambiguous that it kept tensions alive, and, a dozen years later, led to renewed hostilities, see text of Gulistan treaty in J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, I (Princeton, 1956), 84-85.

## 215

*General Rtishchev to Prince Orbelianov*(19 October 1813)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian Archbishop Sargis, who is in charge of his diocese in Karabagh, but who does not deserve to be called archbishop, has, on his own, been using the title of catholicos and has convinced the khan of Karabagh to call him by that name. His Majesty has only acknowledged one Armenian catholicos, the former archbishop of the Armenians in Russia, Ep'rem, who is at Etchmiadzin. Ep'rem has received the official confirmation of the Emperor and all Russian officials have to acknowledge him as the religious leader of the Armenian people.

Sargis has no right to use the title of catholicos of Karabagh. I instruct you to obtain a signed paper from Sargis denouncing his claim and agreeing to live a quiet life and act as a pastor in his region. Otherwise, as one who has gone against the wishes of His Imperial Majesty, he shall feel the full force of Russian laws. Inform the khan that he should not interfere in matters that concern only the Church and not him. He also has to obey His Majesty's will.

## 216

*Armenian Association of Tiflis to General Simanovich*(27 November 1813)<sup>2</sup>

Having been granted a decree demonstrating His Imperial Majesty's generosity towards us, we donate from our surplus 4,000 rubles, in addition to what we were assessed by the government, to the poor requiring aid. We, therefore, forward it to the community charity board, to do with it as they wish. We hope Your Excellency accepts this gesture of ours as gratitude for our prosperity, which is due to His Highness's generosity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, V (doc. 518), 437.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 16 (1813), file 1565, f. 4. The document is in Georgian, with a Russian translation by Solomon Nazarbekov and Bejan (Bezhan) KhatISOV attached. The author of the document is Colonel Simanovich, who was promoted to the rank of general.

## 217

*General Simanovich to General Rtishchev*(9 December 1813)<sup>1</sup>

Inhabitants of Tiflis, the respectable *mokalake* Isai Ageev Fitunov, Mikirtum Muntoev, Bezhan Bastamov, Solomon Nazarbekov, Isai Takoev, David Saradzhev, Iosif Shakarov, and Bezhan Khatsov in their petition to me have stated that from the very beginning of Russian rule in Tiflis they have been loyal to the Imperial Throne. Even when others in Georgia expressed doubts or caused unrest, they remained steadfast in their support of the government. Thus, when in 1811, Tiflis was in the grip of a deadly epidemic, they supplied special houses to quarantine the sick and to help them heal. In 1812 when due to public unrest, supplies were low in Tiflis and the price of bread extremely high, they supplied bread to the poor, who would have died of starvation otherwise. For these services they request that His Majesty grant them the same privileges granted the first Armenian *mokalake* in Tiflis by King Wakhtang: equal rank with the nobility. General Tormasov, they add, had written to the minister of justice on 14 September 1809 on this issue. They assert that they should have the right to purchase peasants and own villages, as they did during the time of the Georgian kings. They do not understand why, following the arrival of the Russian administration, this right was taken away from them.

I wish to add my findings to this petition. All of the above *mokalake* have been in Tiflis a long time and their ancestors were considered.....(text missing) and elders of their people. They are all Armenians and are truly devoted to His Imperial Majesty. His Highness's decree thanking the Armenians of Georgia is proof of their leadership and loyalty. In addition, they have demonstrated their humanity by aiding the poor. They constructed a house outside the city with fifteen rooms and a storage cellar, to quarantine the sick. Furthermore, what better proof is there than their offering on 26 [actually 27] November of 4,000 rubles to the Community Charity Board. During the epidemic they offered their services to the city constabulary. They served on various temporary commissions and have been extremely useful members of society. I hope that Your Excellency will be able to ob-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, record group 2/1 (1813), file 325, ff. 73-75.

tain the rank of nobility for them, and with it reward them as follows: Fitunov, Muntoev, Bastamov, and Nazarbekov the rank of provincial secretary; Takoev, Saradzhev, and Shakarov gold medals to be worn on the neck. *Mokalak* KhatISOv already has a gold medal, due to the generosity of His Majesty. In my opinion this will be beneficial to Georgia for it will reduce the number of peasants owned by private individuals and will increase those owned by those more loyal to Russia. Finally, the Armenian *mokalake* of Tiflis engage in profitable trade from which they pay taxes for the maintenance of roads and other heavy duties described in the Royal manifesto of 1 January 1807.

## 218

*Catholicos Ep'rem to General Rtishchev*(18 February 1814)<sup>1</sup>

On 12 February we sent Archbishop Astuatsatur to Tiflis specifically to organize the religious administration of the Armenians living in Georgia, Elisavetpol', Karabagh, Kuba, Shemakha and other areas in that region, which is under the secure rule of Russia. As of today we have had no success in establishing Etchmiadzin's administration in those areas. In our duty as supreme pastor we are now sending Archbishop Nersēs Ter-Harut'iwnean Shahazizeants' [of Ashtarak], who, although forty-three years old, is a respected member of our brotherhood and whose ancestors were the Kamsarakan princes. He joined the seminary when he was very young, at the time of Simēon Catholicos, and studied until the eleventh year of Catholicos Ghukas' reign. He has a complete knowledge of philology, philosophy, and religion.

He became an archdeacon at age twenty and when he was twenty-three he was sent to Smyrna as a priest. He spent two and a half years in Smyrna, three years in Greece, and half a year in Moldavia-Wallachia. He came to the attention of Catholicos Daniēl, who at that time was the patriarch of Constantinople, and after serving him was sent to serve our diocese in New Nakhichevan, the Crimea, and Grigoriopol'. After the death of Catholicos Ghukas he was appointed

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, V (doc. 519), 437-439.

as secretary of Etchmiadzin. He was sent in 1801 to invite Daniël to assume the position of catholicos. He served that catholicos and in 1808 was elected as a member of the Holy Synod....He has faithfully and diligently served ever since. In 1810 at our request to Prince Golitsyn, His Imperial Majesty granted a bishop's *panagia* to Nersēs. Prior to that, Catholicos Daniël had awarded him a diamond ring. 'Abbās Mīrzā has decorated him as well....

Nersēs was present in Ganja with Prince Tsitsianov and worked with the late Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis, not as a subordinate but as an advisor. They both served His Imperial Majesty and tried to restore Daniël to the throne of the catholicos. Nersēs was instrumental in obtaining flour and gunpowder for Russian troops from Church supplies and funds. Pseudo-catholicos Dawit' accused Nersēs of loyalty to Russia and was willing to put him to death. But God saved him....On 13 January 1809, Dawit' arrested Nersēs in Erevan, where he spent forty days in jail, awaiting his death. The hierarchy at Etchmiadzin managed with great difficulty and the payment of 500 *tomāns* to have him released. We have now sent him to Tiflis to be in charge of all Armenian religious affairs. We ask that Your Excellency aid him in performing his duty....<sup>1</sup>

## 219

*Catholicos Ep'rem to General Rtishchev*  
(20 July 1814)<sup>2</sup>

Like all loyal subjects of His Majesty, Emperor Alexander Pavlovich, we too join the public celebrations on His victorious return to His capital.<sup>3</sup> Together with the Armenian people we wish Him eternal

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<sup>1</sup> Nersēs began the organization of Church property and on 30 November he wrote to Rtishchev regarding the right of the Armenian Church to the monastery of Haghpāt and the adjoining two Armenian villages of Ashot and Khalalashen. He stated that the monastery and its properties had been taken by Georgian apostates and had fallen into disrepair. The case was given to the Georgian State Commission, which could not reach a firm decision at the time, *AKAK*, V (520), 441-442 and (525), 445-447.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGADA*, record group 11 (1814), file 151, ff. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Following the Peace of Paris (30 May 1814), which restored the Bourbons but limited their power by a constitutional charter insisted upon by Alexander, the tsar after visiting London, returned to Russia that summer.

glory. With God's help our monarch has defeated the universal enemy of peace [Napoleon]. If it had been possible, we would have personally delivered our congratulations and would have had the opportunity to see His august face. But since we are not permitted to do so, we have ordered our Prelate in Russia, Archbishop Hovhannēs, to rush to the capital and present our sincere greetings on this joyous occasion....

## 220

*Georgii Ieremiev's (Gēorg Eremean) Geneology*(1 October 1814)<sup>1</sup>

Following the fall of the Armenian kingdom, our family, which had been well-known during that kingdom, was forgotten, and some Armenians have falsely tried to claim that they belong to it. I am submitting proof signed by secular and religious leaders of the province of Vaspurakan, in the city of Van, that is, Shamiramakert, which attests to my background.

During the rule of the Artsruni family in Vaspurakan as attested to by Moses of Khoren and other Armenian chroniclers, King Senekerim Artsruni left for Sebastea and gave his kingdom to the Greek [Byzantine] Tsar Basil. Senekerim's sons, Atom and Abusakhal, left Sebastea and returned to Vaspurakan. After a short time they relocated to the city of Vostan. During the invasion of the Scythians they took shelter on the island of Aght'amar and ruled there, as evidenced by the writings on the building of the Holy Cross Monastery on that island. After the invasions of various people [Turks and Mongols], my princely ancestors remained on the island. Although they suffered from tyranny, and lost all their lands and money, they kept their princely status, as is known to all.

In 1534 when the Turkish sultan [Süleyman II] took Van, he recognized the Artsrunis as nobles, as stated in various manuscripts, exempted them from all taxes and granted them a percentage of the income from their ancestral lands. Thus my ancestor Eran Artsruni, who was given the title of *gesar yoldaši* (close companion), enjoyed that income and his successors continued to do so until the present.

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<sup>1</sup>AKAK, V (doc. 1061), 947-948, submitted to the Caucasian administration by Gēorg Eremean Artsruni.

During the 1530s Eran had three sons and two daughters, Mirijan, Rojan, Dawit', Catherine, and Sanadukht. In 1558 Mirijan had Haik and Eremia. In 1580 Eremia had Zak'aria and Mariam. In 1603 Zak'aria had Aaron and T'ovma. An epidemic carried off the entire family, save the son of Haik, also called Haik. His son Roma had a son called Markhas in 1605. In 1628 Markhas had Gēorg. In 1649 Gēorg had Mirijan. In 1672 Eremia, Elisabet, and Zak'aria were born to Mirijan. In 1693 Eremia had Mirijan. In 1727 Mirijan sired Eremia, Vard, Khatun, and in 1728, Hovhannēs. In 1771, I, Gēorg Eremia was born. After that my sister Shoghakat and brother Gagov were born. In 1793 my daughter Mariam was born and in 1804 my son Eremia was born....

## 221

*General Rtishchev to Catholicos Ep'rem*(27 January 1815)<sup>1</sup>

Thank God that the infectious disease which had gripped Tiflis has ceased and we have had no cases for the last few months. In the letter which Your Holiness sent me on 22 of December last, you mentioned that the Erevan region, where Etchmiadzin lies, was afflicted with the disease, and you requested that we send the Holy Spear back to Etchmiadzin to save the people from this terrible plight. I have ordered that the Holy Spear be immediately transferred from Tiflis to the Holy See. I have appointed an appropriate body of men, led by Mikirtum Surgunov, who is known to Your Holiness, to personally escort this great relic to you.

## 222

*General Simanovich to General Rtishchev*(30 April 1815)<sup>2</sup>

Prince Orbelianov wishes to send his priest, Korniliia Chachikashvili, together with six Persian subjects [who are returning to Erevan] to the

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, V (doc. 521), 443.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1063), 949.



Armenian monastery of Etchmiadzin. The said priest is to bring back the Holy Water of St. James, so that, according to the belief of local inhabitants, many birds may appear in this region and devour the locusts which have plagued us. The priest thus needs a round-trip travel permit for his mission.

## 223

*Catholicos Ep'rem to the Armenian Clergy in Karabagh*  
(18 December 1815)<sup>1</sup>

During the lifetime of Catholicos Hovhannēs of Gandzasar, Catholicos Israyēl was anointed without the former's consent and the two exchanged hostile letters. At that time, the Catholicos of All Armenians, Simēon, called both of them here to Etchmiadzin and made them swear that after the death of either one, the remaining would continue as catholicos and that after his death there would be no more catholicoi at Gandzasar. The present Archbishop Sargis, who was a deacon at that time, was present during that ceremony. However, Sargis, even during the lifetime of Israyēl, went against this agreement and, with the help of Ĵavād Khan, was anointed in Elisavetpol' and thus earned the anathema of the Armenian Church. Later he went to Tiflis and somehow received the diocese of Haghpāt. His transgressions from that time until my arrival in Tiflis from St. Petersburg are well known to you. After this, Catholicos Israyēl asked that Bishop Simēon<sup>2</sup> be anointed as catholicos [of Gandzasar], during Israyēl's lifetime. I asked both Simēon and Sargis to come to Etchmiadzin so that we might come to some agreement regarding this matter. Simēon died in the meantime, in Elisavetpol', and Sargis, without permission and against the wishes of His Majesty Tsar Alexander, began using the red seal of the catholicos [of Gandzasar], collecting Church dues, and distributing holy *muṛon*. When His Excellency, General Rtishchev, came to Tiflis he forbade Sargis to use the title of catholicos and made him instead the archbishop of Gandzasar. Prince Orbelianov was sent to Sargis and had him sign a document to that effect. We inform you that

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 522), 443.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicos Simēon V (1794-1810) of Gandzasar.

Sargis has been stripped of all his titles. He is under the anathema of the Church until he presents himself before us and seeks forgiveness for his sins. Did Sargis forget that since the time of St. Gregory no one can assume an exalted position in the Church without the approval of the catholicos at Etchmiadzin and that those who attempt such an act have to perform penance? I am writing to you so that you will not become part of the anathema....

224

*General Rtishchev to Tsar Alexander*(14 January 1816)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian Archbishop Nersēs, who is in charge of all Armenian affairs in this region, has gained the trust and respect of the local Russian administration, as well as of the Armenian population. Even before his appointment to Georgia, he had demonstrated, on many occasions, his devotion to Your Imperial Majesty, especially when the Russian troops were in the Erevan province. As archbishop and deputy of the catholicos at Etchmiadzin, he twice covered the shortcomings of our provisions. His actions earned him much trouble from the Persian government, including long-term imprisonment in a dungeon, and almost cost him his life.

In his three years here as the pastor of this community he has worked hard for his Church. His humanity and devotion have earned him universal respect. During an infectious epidemic here he did not fear for his life but visited and comforted the sick. His dignity and humility have won approval from Armenians living in Persia and Turkey. He has been of great value to my administration of Georgia. His loyalty to Russia has gained him the animosity of the sardar of Erevan, Hoseyn-qoli Khan, as well as of the Persian government. His only protector is Your Imperial Majesty. For his devotion and services to Russia and to our administration in Georgia, as well as for our good relations with Catholicos Ep'rem, I petition Your Majesty to present Archbishop Nersēs with a diamond cross to be worn on his black hood. There is a precedent for such an act, for Your Majesty did honor

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<sup>1</sup>AKAK, V (doc. 523), 443-444, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 537, ff. 40-41.

the late Archbishop Hovhannēs with a decoration for his services to Russia and his Church....

## 225

*General Tikhanovskii to General Rtishchev*(4 April 1816)<sup>1</sup>

Upon my arrival in Nukha, the Armenian archbishop Sargis came to see me and stated that he had orders from the catholicos at Etchmiadzin to come to Nukha and take the relics of St. Stephen, which are in possession of an Armenian there. He added that he had been here for four months but the khan of Nukha, Esma'il, would not let him take the bones. I made inquiries and found out that when the late Ĵa'far-qolī Khan ruled in Qoi, the bones were in the Armenian monastery in Qoi<sup>2</sup> and that when he left, the Armenians who accompanied him took the bones and brought them to Nukha. After the khanate of Sheki was given to Ĵa'far-qolī, he ordered that a church be built near the fortress of Nukha to keep the bones. The relics were there, guarded by an Armenian bishop. After the death of that bishop, his brother took the bones home and claimed ownership of the relics. He rented them out for profit and the relics ended up in the houses of Tatars where they were not given the respect they deserved. I called that Armenian and took the bones from him and presented them to Sargis for safekeeping. However, I cannot, without Your Excellency's permission, allow them to leave Nukha. I need to know if you wish to send them back to Etchmiadzin or keep them here, since we have a sizable Armenian community and a religious hierarchy.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, V (doc. 524) 444-445, sent from Nukha.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the St. T'adēos (Thaddeus) monastery, which is between Qoi and Mākū.

## 226

*Mahdī-qolī Khan's Farman*  
(1816)<sup>1</sup>

My friend, the esteemed Major General Prince Rostam Grigorivič Madatov,<sup>2</sup> who wears various decorations has for a long time left Karabagh to serve His Imperial Majesty, my beloved liege. As part of his service he has now returned to Karabagh, his birthplace. He is a member of the noble family of Melik Bagi and we thus return to him his ancestral property in the Varanda district which is listed here as: From the village of Čahārtaz in the west and south to the villages of Ĵam'iatī, Kešiškand, and Čanākčī [in the north and east]; as well as the following villages in the Goriuk district: Kōt, Enker, Kālīzār. The above lands with all the peasants on them, including those inhabitants who have emigrated, wherever they may be, are given to him and his descendants in perpetuity. They are to serve him loyally and pay all the required dues. All income from these villages, minus whatever is required for the treasury, is to be handed over to Prince Madatov.

Written in the month of *Ĵomādā II* 1232 *Hijri* (1816).

By His Majesty's order, I, the ruler of Karabagh, by right of succession and by law, Major General Mahdī-qolī Khan.

Seal of Mīrzā Ĵamāl Ĵavānšīr (vizier).

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 476, f. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Valerian (Rustam) Grigorievich Madatov (1782-1829), an Armenian melik from Karabagh, nephew of Yüzbaşı Petros Madatov, who entered Russian service. He participated in the War of 1812 against Napoleon and served as the military commander of Sheki, Shirvan, and Karabagh. He defeated a Persian army in the battle of Shamkhor in September 1826 and left Transcaucasia with the departure of General Ermolov.

VI  
(March 1817-March 1827)

227  
*General Kutuzov<sup>1</sup> to General Ermolov<sup>2</sup>*  
(5 March 1817)<sup>3</sup>

I made an inquiry as to why the Armenians of Tiflis have not accepted Archbishop Nersēs. First, I have asked each person who had sent a complaint to Catholicos Ep'rem about Nersēs. Second, I asked Prince Darchi Bebutov to explain the points outlined in the letter of Bishops Simēon and Mkrtich', regarding Bebutov's notion of the independence of the Armenian Church vis-à-vis the Russian state.<sup>4</sup>

I asked seventy-seven Armenians from different backgrounds their opinion of Nersēs. Some said they were unhappy with his appointing priests without regard to ancient customs--that is, without consulting the wishes of the community. Others stated that they had not read or signed the petitions and do not know anything about them. Finally, the third group, the largest, stated that although they had asked that Nersēs

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Kutuzov, commander of the Russian army in Georgia (not to be confused with the famous Kutuzov of the War of 1812).

<sup>2</sup> Alexei Petrovich Ermolov (1777-1861). Russian general and statesman who served as the commander of the First Western Army in the 1812 campaign. In December of that year he became the chief of artillery of the Russian army. In 1816 he was appointed as governor of Georgia and in 1819 as administrator in chief of the Russian forces in the Caucasus. From 1816 to 1818 he also acted as plenipotentiary envoy to Persia. His benevolent treatment of the Decembrists exiled to the Caucasus caused major arguments with Count A. A. Arakcheev, the confidant of the new tsar, Nicholas I. Ermolov was removed by the tsar and replaced by Paskevich in 1827. In 1830 Ermolov was named a member of the State Council.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VII/I (doc 596), 447.

<sup>4</sup> On 22 February Ermolov sent the letters of complaint against Nersēs from Armenians in Tiflis, together with the letters from Simēon, Mkrtich, and Bebutov, as well as responses from Ep'rem to Kutuzov, *ibid.* (doc. 595), 444-448.

be replaced, they themselves had nothing against him and did not feel that religious leaders should be replaced by such petitions.

Prince Darchi Bebutov, in response to the commission's inquiry, stated that Nersēs had never made any reference to the independence of the Armenian Church from the Russian state and that he had proven his loyalty during his sixteen years of service to Russia....

It seems that the major problem was between Nersēs and the religious and secular hierarchy here and that something has to be done to regulate this. I suggest the following:

1) Secular leaders shall not get involved in religious affairs concerning the appointment of priests, Church administration, or other related matters. The catholicos selects his bishops and they are confirmed by His Imperial Majesty. Senior Church and state officials are involved and no one else from Armenian society is permitted to voice an opinion.

2) Complaints should not be malicious and should be directed to the appropriate authority and level. They should not bypass the normal process or be directed haphazardly to senior religious or administrative bodies.

3) The Bebutovs have to be reminded that although they felt that, according to custom, they could request the removal of Nersēs, they insulted him and did not gain anything but bad will. They should not have acted alone and should have waited for others to join them....

## 228

### *Tsar Alexander to the Minister of Finance*

(4 July 1817)<sup>1</sup>

General Ermolov informs me that the Karabagh province, which was in the theater of war with Persia for eight years is devastated and that its population has emigrated.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the 8,000 gold rubles, which according to the treaty with the khan of Karabagh [Ebrāhīm] were to be paid annually by the khan as tribute to Russia have been in arrears

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1266), 836-837.

<sup>2</sup> On 4 March Ermolov wrote to the tsar that Karabagh, which in 1805 had some 10,000 families, had only 3,080 families left. The rest had emigrated.

and his debt is now 34,872 gold rubles. The local population is in no condition to pay this. In order to encourage those who have left to return and in order to gain the devotion of the entire population of Karabagh, I have decided to waive the amount owed to the treasury. In addition, the khan of Karabagh will not be able to demand money from them for his own profit. Starting this year the khan can pay the annual tribute.

## 229

*Esma'il Khan of Sheki To General Kutuzov*  
(August 1817)<sup>1</sup>

I am responding to your letter in which you state that, according to Lieutenant Colonel Pleshkov, I aided General Madatov in removing 400 Armenian families to Karabagh during his visit to Sheki. Pleshkov's report is inaccurate. I did not send 400 Armenian families to Karabagh. When General Madatov arrived in Sheki, he asked me to help him locate the 240 families of Armenians of Varanda who had fled Karabagh during Āğā Moḥammad Khan's destruction and who were given to General Madatov by Mahdī-qolī Khan of Karabagh. After they were located he had them moved back to Karabagh. None of them were original inhabitants of Sheki, otherwise I would not have permitted them to depart. Madatov, as the overlord of these families, had full authority to ask for their return. You must decide if I am to be punished for slanderous accusations and for performing my duty.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The letter was received in Tiflis on 25 August, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1079), 725-726.

<sup>2</sup> On the same date the Armenians of Nukha wrote to Kutuzov asking him to protect them from Madatov, *ibid.*, (doc. 1078), 725, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 file 476, f. 23; on 29 August, Kutuzov wrote to Esma'il Khan, admonishing him for the return of inhabitants who for twenty years had lived in Sheki, *ibid.*, (doc. 1080), 726. On 5 September, Madatov wrote to Kutuzov that he took only 187 families and that they belonged to him by right. He added "In these parts there is an agreement that if peasants belonging to a landowner escape to the land of another landowner, he must return them to their original owner," *TSGIA-Gruz*, 2/1 file 476, f. 18. On 14 September, Kutuzov wrote to Pleshkov ordering him to safeguard the remaining Armenians and inform Madatov that those who wish to return should be allowed to do so, *ibid.*, f. 24. On 15 September, Ermolov's staff counselor Mogilevskii

## 230

*General Ermolov to Mahdī-qolī Khan*(26 March 1818)<sup>1</sup>

I have learned that you gave Prince Madatov the right to some villages in Varanda and other districts of Karabagh. General Madatov does his people honor by his loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. Please inform the Armenian inhabitants of Sheki that Prince Madatov is planning to settle for good in Karabagh and that his right to the lands were affirmed by Prince Tsitsianov, when General Madatov entered his service, and that I shall not challenge it....

The Armenians of Sheki have complained, however, that the sudden move has left them poor and that they did leave certain items behind. I request, therefore, that in your devotion to me, you exempt them from at least three years of taxes and also request that they be under your personal protection during that time....

## 231

*General Ermolov to Tsar Alexander*(31 May 1819)<sup>2</sup>

Major General Mahdī-qolī Khan of Karabagh has written to inform me that he has given his childhood friend Major General Prince Madatov a number of villages. I have to note that the villages are just part of Madatov's ancestral lands which, due to war and other unfortunate events, he left at a young age....

Since I do not have the authority to confirm his possessions, I request that Your Imperial Majesty confirm him as the rightful owner.

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sent all the relevant documents to St. Petersburg for their comment, *ibid.*, f. 25. On 26 September, Kutuzov received a letter from Mahdī-qolī Khan stating that Madatov was given a number of villages with their inhabitants in Karabagh, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1267), 837. On 19 November, Madatov wrote to Ermolov, who had returned from Persia, and included the *farmans* of Mahdī-qolī Khan, as well as that of Shah 'Abbās II, which in 1651 granted Varanda to his ancestor Melik Bagi. In May 1819, Mahdī-qolī Khan wrote to Ermolov explaining that he had given Madatov the villages in Karabagh, *ibid.*, (doc. 1271), 839.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1270), 838.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGLA-Gruz*, record group 2, file 986, f. 4.



Your approval will mean that the khan and Madatov will help each other in the smooth running of the region....<sup>1</sup>

## 232

*Decree of Tsar Alexander*(15 June 1819)<sup>2</sup>

To His Grace, Nersēs, Archbishop of the Armenians in Georgia. Your services and beneficial acts rendered to the administrator in chief of Georgia has been brought to Our attention by Our Ministry of Religious Affairs. We are thus awarding you with the Order of St. Anne, 1st Class. You are permitted to wear it on your person and enjoy its privileges.

## 233

*Major General Khoven<sup>3</sup> to General Vel'iaminov<sup>4</sup>*(15 July 1819)<sup>5</sup>

The commission, responding to General Ermolov's order of 10 February of this year regarding the petition of Melik Alaverdi Hasan Jalalean of Khachen, has come to the following conclusions: 1) Judging by the documents given by King Giorgi on 27 October 1800 to the nephew of the melik, Alaverdi Yüzbaşı, son of Daniël, all the Armenians of Khachen who relocated from Erevan were to be his subjects in perpetuity. 2) The chief of Borchalu, Breshchinskii, reported that all the inhabitants of Khachen settled in Borchalu after the destruction in Karabagh and that when Melik Alaverdi Hasan Jalalean came there they became his subjects by the decree of King Giorgi. 3) In the argu-

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<sup>1</sup> On 23 April 1821, Tsar Alexander decreed that Madatov might indeed possess the lands, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1279), 842. On 15 August and 1 September 1821, Ermolov wrote to the tsar and Vel'iaminov that Madatov had been given rights to the lands for fifty years but since neither the Armenians nor the Muslims had serfs, his right pertained only to the land and not its peasants, *ibid.* (docs. 1283-1284), 844-845.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA*, record group 880, file 5, f. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Roman Ivanovich Khoven governed the civilian administration of Georgia.

<sup>4</sup> Ivan Aleksandrovich Vel'iaminov I, one of the closest confidants of Ermolov, was in charge of civilian affairs of the Caucasian administration.

<sup>5</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file, 757, ff. 3-5.

ment between the nephew of Archbishop Hovhannēs (Sargis), Melik Alaverdi, and Melik Fireyduṅ, the Tiflis district court ruled on 20 March 1803 that the peasants belonged to Melik Alaverdi by force of royal decrees. 4) The court's decision was accepted by all on 17 April of that year and the *zemskii* police was informed that the fifty-two peasant families were to pay taxes and services to Melik Alaverdi. 5) However, in the survey conducted in 1817 in Tiflis, all the Armenians originally from Khachen were listed as state peasants and no one knew why. It was suggested that until the matter was resolved the Armenians of Khachen should not pay taxes either to the treasury or to the melik. The commission, after examining all the relevant data, has concluded that the fifty-two original families from Khachen have to give 100 rubles worth of wheat and barley annually to the melik. It has also determined that on 16 November 1810, the former governor of Georgia, Akhverdov, designated sixty-nine new Armenian families from Khachen, who had settled in Borchalu, as state peasants; Melik Alaverdi's demands that they, too, pay him taxes are unfounded. The decision of the commission is that those Armenians who came prior to 1810 should continue to be subject to the melik, while those who came in 1810 belong to the state and the melik has no rights over them, as was made clear by the Imperial decree of 14 February 1808, given to Count Gudovich, which stated that all Armenian refugees who from then on settled in Georgia were to be subjects of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

## 234

*Archbishop Nersēs to Hovakim Lazarev*  
(19 January 1820)<sup>2</sup>

Your honor, Aga<sup>3</sup> Hovakim Aga Eghiazarean (Lazarev)  
My gracious sir.

I wish in this new year and on the celebration of the birth of Christ,<sup>4</sup> that God bless you and your entire family.

<sup>1</sup> Vel'iaminov's agreement is written at the bottom of the document.

<sup>2</sup> MAAC, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 165, doc. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Persian title of *aga* or *aga-ye* is used to address respected citizens.

<sup>4</sup> Armenian Christmas, celebrated on January 6th, follows the New Year.

I thank you for your kindness to me in your gift of the silver star, which was brought by Tamraz Bashbeukean, and which I shall wear with great joy as it is from someone who has the respect of his nation. It has now been a long time that I have had no news from the Holy See. Judging from oral reports from people whom I trust, including the pilgrim from Kizliar, Hovhan Step'anean, P'arakets'ov, and others who were with him, I have learned that during the time when Sardar Hoseyn-qolī was visiting 'Abbās Mīrzā in the city of Kōi, his brother Hasan Khan,<sup>1</sup> either on his own, or as alleged, spurred on by others, with great audacity sent Colonel Moḥammad Beg to the Holy See. He demanded from the *locum tenens* Archbishop Martiros of Kayseri--the previous Archbishop of Smyrna--as well as from Archbishop Step'anos Enok'eants' and others, 1,000 *tomāns*.<sup>2</sup> His excuse was that they did not legally fall under the jurisdiction of the catholicos [and thus were not exempt from taxes]. Although the hierarchy was prepared to give their [negative] answer to such an illegal demand, when the colonel returned to collect the money, His Holiness the catholicos, on his own, paid the colonel 100 *tomāns*. He also gave 100 *tomāns* to Ĵa'far Beg, head constable of the Araratian region. Furthermore, he gave them a promissory note for 1,000 *tomāns* in the name of Hasan Khan, which has caused slanderous gossip among the brotherhood as well as outsiders.

His Highness the viceroy,<sup>3</sup> Alexei Petrovich Ermolov, has demonstrated Russian might in the Caucasian Mountains and has forced the Lesghians to accept Russian suzerainty by appointing their *kadi* (*qāḍī* or *qāzī*)<sup>4</sup> as his deputy in the fort or town of Akhul. I hope when he returns here [Tiflis] we shall soon find out the details of the triumph of the Russian troops, as well as the valiant acts of the Armenian Prince

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<sup>1</sup> Hasan Khan, the younger brother of the khan of Erevan, was the commander of the Erevan forces (*amir-e neẓām*). Unlike his brother, he was known for his cruelty and was particularly hostile to Armenians.

<sup>2</sup> Seven *tomāns* was worth one pound sterling in 1820s. The amount requested was, therefore, exorbitant.

<sup>3</sup> The archbishop flatters Ermolov by addressing him as viceroy.

<sup>4</sup> The *qāḍīs* of Daghestan were not Islamic judges, but rather acted as heads of the community.

Madatov. If it had not been for your newlywed heir Aga Khach'ik, I would have been totally unaware of all this news. Please inform me, occasionally, of events [which may concern the Armenians].

## 235

*Armenians of Bol'nis to General Vel'iaminov*(24 February 1820)<sup>1</sup>

When Āgā Moḥammad Khan came to Karabagh and caused famine, we emigrated to Erevan, where we lived for four years. When we heard that the Russian army had arrived in Georgia we emigrated there and settled in the village of Bol'nis. Melik Abov and his subjects were there and we joined them. We lived there three years after the death of King Giorgi, but since we are from a different group [of Armenians], we separated from Melik Abov and decided to make Kara Danelashvili, who was originally from Karabagh and who had settled in Tiflis ten years earlier, our *mamasakhlisi*,<sup>2</sup> a position he held for six years. When Melik Abov and his subjects returned to Karabagh, we followed, without the permission of the [Russian] authorities. We lived there for two years. When administrator in chief Tormasov arrived in Karabagh he sent us back to the village of Bol'nis, where we have remained until the present. Kara Danelishvili took our belongings and demanded bribes, forcing some to leave, while the rest are left with heavy monetary debts to him. We can prove our claims and we wish you to remove this chief and send us another. If not, we shall also flee to other regions.

## 236

*General Ermolov to Tsar Alexander*(8 June 1820)<sup>3</sup>

Gēorg Eran Artsruni of Van, a former subject of Turkey, receiving permission from my predecessor, General Rtishchev, emigrated with

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 757, ff. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Head of the community.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VI/2 (doc. 1107), 754-755.

his entire family to Tiflis and became the subject of His Imperial Majesty.

The Armenian catholicos Ep'rem, members of the Synod of Etchmiadzin, as well as Armenian religious and lay leaders, attested that Eran is a descendant of the Armenian Artsruni princes, who ruled the Vaspurakan province, and that when the Turks took over the province in 1534, they gave a title to his ancestors, which entitled them to collect part of the produce of the province as income. Eran enjoyed this right until his emigration to Russia. My predecessor wrote<sup>1</sup> to the then minister of foreign affairs, Veidemaier,<sup>2</sup> on this matter. On 18 March 1816, the senate rejected the petition on the grounds that candidates to the rank of nobility must present diplomas and coat-of-arms.

The frequent destruction which has befallen Armenia makes it obvious that no documents granted by the Armenian kings could have been preserved. Almost all structures, even gravestones, have been destroyed. The Turkish government, as a rule, cannot comprehend that Armenia, which is ruled by them today, was once ruled by great kings, whose ancestors were recognized by earlier Turkish rulers as the lords of the Van fortress....<sup>3</sup>

### 237

#### *Archbishop Nersēs to Melik Shamir*<sup>4</sup> (19 July 1820)<sup>5</sup>

I received your letter of 24 June, through your confidant Ayvaz, and was happy to learn of your good health.

I am especially interested to learn that those who oppressed us for centuries are also oppressing you. I pray that God will harden their

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<sup>1</sup> See letter dated 27 June 1815, in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 file 383, f. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Andrevich Veidemaier (1752-1820) was a member of the State Council from 1810 and minister of foreign affairs from 1814 to 1816.

<sup>3</sup> On 8 September 1820, Tsar Alexander, who was in Warsaw at the time, signed the necessary declaration and Artsruni joined the ranks of Russian nobility.

<sup>4</sup> Melik Shamir was the son of Melik Fiṛeydun Beglarcian, the hereditary melik of the Gulistan district of Karabagh.

<sup>5</sup> *MAAC*, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 165, doc. 367.

hearts towards you and [at the same time] increase the power of His sword in Russian hands, to bring retribution and save us from barbarian domination.

I request, however, that you be very careful. Especially beware of the mullahs, and make sure that carelessness does not lead to ambush.

If certain difficulties arise in carrying out our decree, you can report them to Samuēl Shikakhanean, who is trusted by Khosrov Khan. I hope that he, who serves Khosrov, will be able to help you [with Khosrov's help] to carry out your assignment. If you can do this, we shall succeed and will be free from dealing with persons we do not know or trust.

## 238

*Archbishop Nersēs to the Armenians of Elisavetpol'*(21 August 1820)<sup>1</sup>

My respectful and warm greetings to the honorable Armenian leaders of Elisavetpol'.

I inform you that I have received your letters, the last [dated the] 6th of this month, on time. You wrote that you have voluntarily collected 5,000 rubles in silver for the construction of barracks. You also stated that Khoja Tuman Ivanich met with the governor<sup>2</sup> and came to an agreement that there will be no further demands [on the Armenians] and that after the construction of the barracks he will not billet soldiers in your houses. The governor has promised to discuss this with the viceroy to assure you and me that your wishes will be fulfilled. I hope that your petition will be accepted by the viceroy and that you will receive a sum for the necessary [construction] cost and a guarantee to end the stay of your lodgers.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Maxim Ivanovich Ponomarev was the governor of Elisavetpol'.

<sup>3</sup> On 5 October Nersēs wrote to Khach'atur, the head of the Armenian religious hierarchy in Elisavetpol', stating that a demand for 300 rubles had been made from the Armenian clergy in Elisavetpol' as part of the 5000 rubles pledged for the barracks. Nersēs strongly opposed this notion and stated that the tsar had issued a decree on 17 April, confirmed by the senate on 14 July, that the Armenian clergy, as well as Church property, was exempt from all taxes and services and that no one, including the Ar-

## 239

*Prince Madatov to General Vel'iaminov*(14 May 1821)<sup>1</sup>

I have received two petitions that I am forwarding to you: First, that of the cousin of Moṣṭafā, the khan of Shirvan, who fled to Persia. He wishes to give his village of Matrasi to the treasury because the inhabitants are all Armenians and do not obey him. He wishes, instead, to exchange it with a Tatar village with the same type of income.<sup>2</sup> Second, Aqa Beg, the son of the late 'Askar Khan, requests, because of his poverty, that the four mills in the Shirvan Province, which for years belonged to his family, and which were taken by Moṣṭafā Khan and now belong to the treasury, be returned....<sup>3</sup>

## 240

*General Vel'iaminov to Archbishop Nersēs*(14 May 1821)<sup>4</sup>

It has come to my attention that the Armenian clergy is demanding that those [Armenians] who have converted to the Greco-Russian Church revert to the Armenian Church. Since according to our law only those belonging to the state religion of Russia can actively engage in proselytizing, I request that you instruct your clergy to voluntarily cease from forcing their dogma among those [Armenians] who have already converted to the Greco-Russian Church.

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menian people and its leaders, could demand payment from the Church. As part of its pastoral duties, the Church, however, in times of emergency could pay for the needs of the nation. Thus he had authorized the payment of the sum by the clergy of Elisavetpol', to which he contributed 50 silver rubles from his own funds for the construction of the barracks, *ibid.*, doc. 438.

<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1, file 938, f. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The accompanying petition in Persian states that the Armenians of the village of Matrasi paid 30 loads of wheat and barley and 570 rubles.

<sup>3</sup> On 4 July of that year Vel'iaminov instructed Madatov to find a suitable Tatar village, *ibid.*, f.9.

<sup>4</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 598), 448.

## 241

*General Khoven to General Vel'iaminov*(29 July 1821)<sup>1</sup>

In April of this year the Department of Mining of Georgia submitted a petition from the workers of the Alaverdi copper mines stating that they do not have enough farming lands to sustain their families. They asked that lands from the villages of Kogos, Iegdani, and Achkhuan, located in the flat area of the Lori district, be given to them. These villages were in fact bought by Count Musin-Pushkin, and paid for by the department, but due to attacks from marauders were ignored and at present do not belong to the state, but are farmed by the remaining inhabitants. Paragraph 11 of the regulation of 3 February 1816, regarding mining and manufacturing, states that the workers should be given enough land to build houses and to produce food for their needs. Article 24 states that these lands should either come from the district of Lori or from other state-owned properties. The department asks that we follow the statutes and transfer enough land for the 329 workers. Two commissioners from the department, Samal'skii and Prince Argutinskii-Dolgoruki,<sup>2</sup> are appointed to this task....

## 242

*General Ermolov's Comments Regarding  
Melik Shahnazarov's Petition*(11 August 1821)<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the father of the petitioner had a large domain in Karabagh, when the province was ruled by a number of Armenian feudal families. However, because of his animosity toward the other families, he himself allowed the Muslims to take over the province. Going against his religion, he even gave one of his daughters in marriage to a Muslim chief.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1. file 954, ff. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Moses Zakharovich Argutinskii-Dolgoruki was a lieutenant general, who participated in the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish Wars of the 1820s.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1282), 843-844.



After the khans of Karabagh firmly positioned themselves there, the father of the petitioner died and the riches of the family were usurped by the khans.

In 1799 the relatives of the petitioner fled to Russia and late Emperor, of Blessed Memory, decorated them. Some of them returned to Karabagh, where they regained some of their property, not because they had any rights to it--for those who flee forgo such a right--but because after the death of Āğā Moḥammad Khan, the khan of Karabagh [Ebrāhīm] was independent and was kindly disposed towards them. The petitioner writes that after the death of his brother, much of their land was taken over by the state treasury. He argues that the treasury has no rights in Karabagh since the Russian government made a treaty with the khan, and that the property by right should belong to the khan, who is willing to give it to him and not to the state. Prince Madatov, he claims, has thus seized his ancestral lands.

I do not recommend that we grant this petition, for we have similar treaties with the khans of Sheki and Shirvan and cannot accept claims of land ownership by previous lords. If we do this, other claimants, who like the Shahnazarovs have received pensions from the state, will soon appear....

The brother of Melik Jamshid states that their family received a decree on 2 June 1799, by which their rights to their ancestral lands were affirmed. Even if that was true, the treaty with Karabagh was signed during Your Majesty's rule [1805]. The petitioner's claim is not valid and his son, who is serving in the 9th Jäger group, is not worthy of any special commendation. The petitioner has [bypassed me and has] written directly to the Ministry of the Interior hoping to receive a positive answer. I do not support his petition; in fact there is even some doubt of his legitimacy, since his father, by all reports, had two living wives....

## 243

*General Vel'iaminov to General Khoven*(19 August 1821)<sup>1</sup>

The minister of religious affairs has informed me that Prince David Melikov of Georgia has submitted a manuscript of a Russian-Armenian-Georgian lexicon. He is of the opinion that the publication of such a dictionary will be useful for the educational institutions in Georgia. After having it examined by qualified readers, I report that the said work is in three parts: The first section consists of words in Russian, translated into Armenian and Georgian; the second, words in Armenian, translated into Russian and Georgian, and the third words in Georgian, translated into Russian and Armenian. None of the parts are complete and some Armenian and Russian words do not express the correct meaning. As to the Georgian words, they are accurate. Although it is a pity that the author has chosen only simple words, the publication of the lexicon is not without merit and we have to find out from the author his needs for the realization of the project and who will pay the cost of publication. Before you contact the prince with our answer, I suggest that you find out more about him, his qualifications, and his service, for the minister's information.

## 244

*Archbishop Nersēs to Prince Madatov*(3 December 1821)<sup>2</sup>

On the second of this month I received from the chancery of the viceroy a parcel from our holy patriarch, Catholicos Ep'rem, written on 6 November in Khorvirap, in which he asked me to forward his petition to you. Since 'Abbās Mīrzā and the sardar of Erevan have permitted him to travel to Russia, that is, to Karabagh, he asks Your Excellency if you in turn will receive him and prepare living quarters suitable for his station, so that he can rest his aged body after a difficult and cold journey. I am very sorry that the letter of His Holiness was delayed en

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/2 (doc. 1111), 756.

<sup>2</sup> MAAC, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 165, doc. 320.

route and arrived so late. In forwarding the message I implore Your Excellency, as a general in the service of His Imperial Majesty and as an Armenian prince, to take care of the chief pastor of the Armenian people as befits his position....

## 245

*General Ermolov to Catholicos Ep'rem*  
(30 January 1822)<sup>1</sup>

I received your letter and wish to thank Your Holiness for your congratulations on my successful return to Tiflis.

I am sorry that your arrival in His Majesty's domain took place during the absence of my chief deputy commander, otherwise the respect that our government has for Your Holiness would have been better demonstrated in our proper greeting.

Despite my great respect for Your Holiness, I cannot permit you to remain long in our domain. I am aware of the difficult conditions at the Holy Etchmiadzin Monastery, but your absence has probably made conditions worse. I, therefore, have to sacrifice my personal feelings and ask you to return to your pastoral See. In my opinion this action will end Persian suspicions as to the purpose of your visit and will improve your leadership of the Holy See.

## 246

*Catholicos Ep'rem to General Ermolov*  
(13 February 1822)<sup>2</sup>

On the fourth of this month I had the honor to receive your letter dated 30 January.

Numerous calamities have resulted in inflicting heavy sorrows on me, in my old age, and on the See of All Armenians. I have thus put my last hope in His Imperial Majesty and have fled to Karabagh to consult your God-given wisdom on my fate and that of Etchmiadzin. Since I would not have received permission from the Persians to visit

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 600), 448-449.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (doc. 602), 449-450.

you, I was forced to travel to Karabagh to elicit your advice. For that reason I asked Your Excellency to send Archbishop Nersēs to confer with me, so that we may take the best course.

I have no idea why Your Excellency has crushed my hopes and has left Etchmiadzin unprotected. If due to some inaccurate information, I have not only lost your protection but have become the laughingstock of the world, then why do the Persians consider my contact with you dangerous? Maybe they should have been notified [of your new position]? We have fled as the lowest refugees to seek protection from the throne of His Highness, the Emperor, who has favored the oppressed of various other states. We hope that He will not abandon a seventy-year-old man, who was forced in the cold of winter to cross mountains....

I ask once again that you either send Archbishop Nersēs to us or permit us to visit you. I am sending this letter in the care of Archbishop Simēon, who has been visiting us. He will also be able to explain our dire conditions verbally....<sup>1</sup>

## 247

*General Ermolov to Count Nessel'rode*<sup>2</sup>  
(12 March 1822)<sup>3</sup>

The Armenian Catholicos Ep'rem has, without warning us, come from Persia to Karabagh. He has informed me that he has fled the oppression of the Persian government and is seeking His Majesty's protection in Tiflis. Although he has the permission of the Persian government to enter our domain, he would not, according to his own admission, have been allowed to come to Tiflis.

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<sup>1</sup> On 20 June Ep'rem abdicated and on 30 July he wrote letters to the tsar. 'Abbās Mīrzā, Ermolov, and Golitsyn stating basically the same problems cited in this document. The debts of Etchmiadzin were large and the interest paid by the See was too high. Ep'rem concluded that he had served for thirteen years and that he was seventy-two years old and wished to retire as a monk, *ibid.*, (docs. 609-610), 453-454.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Vasil'evich Nessel'rode (1780-1862). The Russian statesman and diplomat was acting foreign minister from 1816 to 1822 and foreign minister from 1822 to 1856. He was also vice-chancellor from 1828 to 1845 and chancellor from 1845.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 603), 450.

I have informed him that since the Persian government does not trust us at the moment, his arrival here would indicate that we have a hidden agenda.

Furthermore, there is no evidence of oppression for me to demand leniency from the Persian government. If there are any shortcomings, the problem, as everyone except him is aware, is the lack of firmness and ability, as well as innate mental capacity, on the part of the catholicos. In other words, even in the mediocre atmosphere of a monastery he could not perform capably.

In carrying out the sacred trust of His Imperial Majesty I cannot damage the friendship and trust of Persia over this matter, especially now that there is a chance of success [in our negotiations]. To create suspicions and give the Persian government an excuse to resume hostilities, all for the sake of the catholicos, who has not brought any benefit, is in my opinion, inadvisable.

I am trying to convince him to return to his See. I have advised him that if his age and weakness prohibit him from carrying out his duties then he should ask the brotherhood to elect a successor. Following that, with the permission of the Persian government, I can grant him a quiet retirement in my territory as a priest, but not as a catholicos, whose place is in Etchmiadzin, in Persia. Ep'rem, however, wants to keep his title and use it here and there. He has thus alienated a large number of priests. By the way, he is collecting money here to satisfy Persian demands. He is aided in this by the khan of Karabagh, who [is loyal to Persia but] does not dare to send money to Persia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 24 March, Ermolov wrote to Ep'rem telling him to return or to resign and retire into a monastery, *TSGIA*, record group 880/5, file 385, ff. 1-2. On 12 April, Nessel'rode wrote to Ermolov regarding the departure of Ep'rem from Etchmiadzin. He stated that Tsar Alexander fully agreed with Ermolov's actions and the choices given to the catholicos, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 605), 451.

## 248

*Archbishop Nersēs to Catholicos Ep'rem*(27 April 1822)<sup>1</sup>

I have been delayed because I received the essential note from the viceroy [Ermolov] late. I received it on the twenty-sixth of this month and tomorrow I plan to send someone, with the administrator in chief's [Ermolov's] note, to Prince Sevarsamidze,<sup>2</sup> with whose help we may be able to transfer the baggage of Archbishop P'ilipos, who died in Kars, from Karin (Erzerum) to Kara-Kilisa. The news is that the war between the Persians and the Ottomans has escalated. The Ottoman army is in Karin, while the Persians are advancing and are currently in Kagizman. According to Sevarsamidze's report to Ermolov and others, Hasan Khan [of Erevan] is with them.

Next week, with God's help, and if other problems do not keep us, we shall be there to serve You without delay.

They say that Bishops Ep'rem and Step'anos have been driven out to the empty plain of Erevan because a part of the debt was demanded from them. Minas Vardapet, the *locum tenens*, whom I do not know, but who seems to be a genuine son of Vasak,<sup>3</sup> has adopted such violence in Etchmiadzin that he has incited the brotherhood, both the lower and higher members. Being a vigilant spy for Ja'far Khan, he has betrayed all the affairs of the brotherhood.

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<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 165, doc. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Leontii Iakovlevich Sevarsamidze (d. 1838) was the commander of the infantry forces in the Tiflis Province. He was stationed in Kara-Kilisa and governed the Pam-bak region. In 1827 he was appointed major general in command of the Caucasian Reserve Grenadiers. In 1836 he became the governor of the Jaro-Belakan Province.

<sup>3</sup> Vasak Siwni, an Armenian nobleman of the fifth century A.D., is accused by Church historians of collaborating with the Persians and is considered a traitor.

## 249

*Archbishop Nersēs to General Vel'iaminov*  
(25 June 1822)<sup>1</sup>

I received your communiqué no. 2018 of 4 June in Shushi on the thirteenth of this month. In it you explained to Ep'rem that Russia cannot give him asylum as the catholicos, but could do so and accord him special respect if he was an ordinary priest.<sup>2</sup>

However, before this offer became public, His Holiness, after consulting with me and with those members of the Etchmiadzin brotherhood who were present here, commented that for some years now he has been verbally and in writing stating to the Armenian Church hierarchy, to those close to him and not close, that he was tired of the heavy burden placed upon him. He has decided that now is the time to rest his seventy-two year-old body and spend the rest of his life, under His Majesty's protection, in a quiet place as an ordinary monk, praying for the Armenian nation and his soul. Therefore, His Holiness, on the twentieth of this month, wrote in his own hand his voluntary resignation from the title of catholicos. This was witnessed by a senior archbishop, members of the Etchmiadzin brotherhood, myself, and the bishop of the Tat'ew hierarchy. He is currently working out the plans for his successor. He will then prepare documents for His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, and for the heir to the Persian state, and the Armenian people on his voluntary action. Once this is completed he plans to move to Elisavetpol'.

I am sending you a copy of Catholicos Ep'rem's voluntary and unexpected declaration.<sup>3</sup> He asks you to keep this news quiet for a while, until his letters to His Majesty and the Persian prince have reached their destinations, so that the Holy See of Etchmiadzin will be spared any harm. He requests that you forward his letter to the Persian prince via Marozovich, so that the prince can order the sardar of Erevan to

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 607), 451-452.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is in *ibid.* (doc. 606), 451.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the announcement is in AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 609), 453. It is witnessed by Archbishop Anton of Moghni, Bishop Hovhannēs, Archbishop Nersēs of Ashtarak and Archbishop Martiros of Siwnik'.

guard Etchmiadzin and to announce his resignation to the Armenian population.<sup>1</sup>

## 250

*General Vel'iaminov to Nersēs of Ashtarak and Mahdī-qolī Khan*  
(8 July 1822)<sup>2</sup>

To Nersēs of Ashtarak (confidential)

I have received a response to my letter to Mahdī-qolī Khan regarding the survey of the Armenian population of Karabagh. It is obvious that the khan fears it.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason for the reaction, except his own imagination, which due to a dissipated life, feels threatened by any type of order. The political situation in Karabagh requires some kind of a resolution by the government to establish the necessary order. The khan of Karabagh has great control over the affairs of his domain, and he has, therefore, to be tolerant. I suggest, however, that we should

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<sup>1</sup> On 9 July Vel'iaminov wrote to Ermolov that Ep'rem had taken his and Nersēs' advice and had resigned. Vel'iaminov was concerned, however, about the catholicos's plans to travel to Elisavetpol'. He informed Ermolov that he had sent a message by carrier-pigeon to stop him. He added that there were rumors that the catholicos had already left for Elisavetpol', hence he had sent a message to Colonel Ponomarev, the commander of that city, not to permit Ep'rem, under any circumstances, to proceed to Tiflis but to ask him to return to Karabagh until official orders arrived. Ermolov responded (no date) that the catholicos should be treated with great respect and be allowed to spend the rest of his life, under His Majesty's protection, in any monastery he wished. He added that he could even settle in Tiflis if he wished to do so, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 609), 453. On 12 August, Vel'iaminov wrote to Nersēs that Ep'rem could travel to Elisavetpol', but he should limit himself to a small entourage, *ibid.*, (doc. 611), 454. On 4 September, he was permitted to settle in the Haghpat monastery complex.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1289), 846.

<sup>3</sup> Mahdī-qolī Khan's letter is in *ibid.*, (doc. 1288), 846. Mahdī-qolī Khan asked why only the Armenians should be counted and why the government couldn't appoint a trusty Russian official instead of Nersēs. He also asked why priests should be permitted to conduct civil matters, as the priest will see that all money in the hands of the Armenians ends up in the Church and not in the coffers of Russia or Karabagh. He requested that Ermolov be informed of his objections and that such a survey not be conducted in Karabagh.



postpone the survey until winter, when it would be more convenient for the families [they shall return home after the harvesting season].<sup>1</sup>

To Mahdī-qolī Khan

In all frankness, your response to the survey of the Armenian population of Karabagh conducted by Archbishop Nersēs has shocked me. It is obvious that you, who are in my sincere favor, do not wish to permit the survey. It seems that those who are against order are spreading false rumors and fear. I, therefore, will tell you the true reason for this survey.

The Russian state has always kept count of churches, monasteries, religious hierarchy and the various Christian peoples, such as Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Catholics, Lutherans, and others, to determine the exact number of their churches, clergy, and population in the Empire. This information is necessary for the minister of religious affairs, as well as for the government, which needs a census of its population. It is for this reason that the ministry has asked Nersēs, as the head of the Armenian community in this region, to conduct this survey, which he has completed, except for Karabagh. The administrator in chief in Georgia, Ermolov, is in a rush to complete this data and knowing your sincerity to serve His Majesty, has asked that you cooperate in this matter.

I do not know who started the rumor that the survey's purpose was to separate the Armenians of Karabagh from the Tatars and to increase the income of the Armenian clergy. It is also not true that the survey violates the treaty between Russia and Karabagh. The government is satisfied with you and all rumors to the contrary are totally false. It seems that those who are against order are spreading these rumors to harm your standing and question your loyalty to the Russian state.

I assure you that the purpose of the survey is exactly as stated above and that the Armenian clergy will have the same jurisdiction over their people as before and will not receive any type of gain. Without your approval, no one can introduce new taxes, save voluntary contributions. Finally, the treaty remains in effect and your loyalty is not in question. I shall present your letter to the administrator in

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<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that Nersēs supported or had the original idea of the survey.

chief, although I am afraid that he will not be pleased with it. To calm your concerns I have asked Archbishop Nersēs to delay the survey until a more convenient time, since many are in the fields.

## 251

*General Ermolov to General Madatov*(11 August 1822)<sup>1</sup>

I received your report of 16 July in which you state that Melik Zurab from the village of Khinzyrek, who had sworn on the altar of God to be faithful to his Christian Armenian religion, has once again reverted to Islam. You also state that he had no right to call himself a melik and that he should be punished by bastinado. I think that the offenses of Melik Zurab are severe and require more than just beating by a stick. I suggest that he be handed to the courts for a punishment he deserves. As to his three children, I agree that until they are fifteen years old they should be brought up by their maternal relative, Rostom Beg. Their father will sign a statement that they shall remain Armenian and will not become Muslims....

I suggest that you gently reprimand Archbishop Martiros, who did not know the duplicity of character possessed by Melik Zurab, and who rebaptized him and is not aware of what has occurred....

## 252

*General Ermolov to the People of Karabagh*(late November 1822)<sup>2</sup>

It is with great surprise that I announce the betrayal and fleeing of Mahdī-qolī Khan of Karabagh to Persia!

I hereby announce that the khanate of Karabagh from this moment on is subject to the Russian Empire. The rule of the khans is forever terminated and I shall send special officials to administer the area.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1290), 847.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1299), 850. The original is in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 1283, f. 7. The khan escaped on 21 November.

The honorable begs, as well as the entire population, can rely on the protection of the Russian Empire. I am pleased to inform them that their property and privileges will remain intact and that I shall reward those who serve us. Our entire wrath, however, will fall on those who collaborated in the khan's betrayal and those who dare to have secret dealings with him.<sup>1</sup>

## 253

*Survey of Armenians*<sup>2</sup>(1822)<sup>3</sup>*Tiflis*

There are 2,931 households in Tiflis and 715 families in 31 villages in the suburbs, of which 252 families belong to the state, 49 to the

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<sup>1</sup> On 21 November, Madatov wrote to Vel'iaminov from Shushi that Mahdī-qolī Khan had escaped to Persia with fifteen to twenty servants. No begs or other citizens had joined him. He left all his belongings behind and escaped a poor man. There had been many complaints against him by the population and the people were happy that he was gone. His wives and sisters were left in Shushi. His son Rostam Beg and his grandson Asad were under arrest in Shushi, guarded by Lt. Col. Reutt'. Russian officers and troops were dispatched to various locations and Archbishop Martiros of Tat'ew supplied provisions to Staff Captain Mokritskii and his troops of the 42nd Jäger detachment in Goris, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1293), 848-849, original in *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 1283, ff. 1-2. On 25 November, Ermolov wrote to Madatov, expressing his surprise and stating that the khan should have found a way to deal with the complaints against him. He instructed Madatov to assure the population that order would be kept and that the wives and relatives of the khan should be respected. Rostam Beg and his son Asad (the son and grandson of Mahdī-qolī Khan) were to remain under arrest until it was determined that they were not involved and could be trusted. On 14 December, Ermolov reported to Tsar Alexander on the events in Karabagh explaining that, although the khan's nephew Colonel Ĵa'far-qolī Aqa should have succeeded him, his cooperation with the Persians in 1812 and his campaign against the Russians had disqualified him, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 1301), 850-851.

<sup>2</sup> Does not include the Armenians in Sheki, Shemakha (Erevan, Nakhichevan were under Persian rule until 1828); see doc 348, for surveys of Erevan and Nakhichevan), Kuba, Talesh, and Karabagh.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 601), 449. The survey was conducted on the basis of those who lived there as of 1 January 1822. The original document is in a different format.

Church, 400 to landlords, and 14 are free. There are a total of 24 churches and 178 clerics.

### *Gori*

There are 331 households in Gori and 859 families in 75 villages in the district, of which 176 belong to the state, 191 to the Church, 489 to landlords, and 3 are free. There are a total of 18 churches and 85 clerics.

### *Ananur*

There are 123 household and 312 families in 20 villages-- 35 are state, 7 Church, and 270 have landlords. There are 4 churches and 21 clerics.

### *Telavi*

There are 236 households and 754 families in 52 villages, of which 411 are state, 86 Church, 252 have landlords, and 5 are free. There are 14 churches and 69 clerics.

### *Sighnaghi*

There are 377 households and 640 families in 37 villages, of which 377 are state, 53 Church, and 251 have landlords. There are 13 churches and 63 clerics.

### *Borchalu*

There are 1,017 families in 35 villages, of which 780 belong to the State, 11 Church, 195 have landlords, and 31 are free. There are 15 churches and 66 clerics.

### *Pambak*

There are 994 families in 20 villages, of which 985 are State owned, 3 have landlords, and 6 are free. There are 14 churches and 74 clerics.

*Kazakh*

There are 1,009 families in 22 villages, of which 976 are state and 33 are free. There are 15 churches and 69 clerics.

*Shamshadil*

There are 381 families in 13 villages, of which 341 belong to the state, 22 to the Church, 12 have landlords, and 6 are free. There are 11 churches and 40 clerics.

*Elisavetpol' Region*

There are 826 households in the city and its suburbs<sup>1</sup> and 406 families in 16 villages, of which 386 belong to the state and 20 are free. There are 12 churches and 72 clerics.

*Imeret'i*

There are 36 households in town and 80 in villages, of which 15 belong to the state, 12 to the Church, 50 have landlords, and 3 are free.

*Baku*

There are 49 households in the city. There is one church and 5 clerics.

Totals: 4,911 households in the cities and towns, 12,048 families in 325 villages (4,693 families belong to the state, 431 to the Church, 1,922 have landlords, and 121 are free). There are 145 churches and 759 clerics.

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<sup>1</sup> On 6 February 1823, Khoven reported to Vel'i aminov that the city of Elisavetpol' had numerous gardens and orchards and that there were 2,855 Armenians and 3,875 Tatars in the city proper, *ibid.*, (doc. 1356), 885.

## 254

*Fath 'Alī Shah to 'Abbās Mīrzā*  
(1822)<sup>1</sup>

....The Armenian catholicos (caliph), Ep'rem, has written that, for a variety of reasons, he does not have enough income, and he has accumulated a debt of 250,000 or 260,000 *tomāns*, much of it because of interest on the capital. He thus finds that his duties have been interrupted and his administration is in turmoil. Although you have accorded every respect to the catholicos, because he has a high standing in our court, we decree that no more interest be charged to his debt. Etchmiadzin will be given time to pay its debts, and its property will not be violated. *Rabi' I 1238 Hijri.*

## 255

*Metropolitan Sargis<sup>2</sup> to General Ermolov*  
( 8 May 1823)<sup>3</sup>

On the fifth of this month, Prince Madatov arrived and asked that I present the decrees granted to my ancestors by Peter the Great in 1724 and Catherine [I] in 1726, so that he could make copies for Your Excellency. I wish that I had these documents, but the following events were responsible for their loss:

In 1786, Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh, accusing our family of loyalty to Russia, arrested me and my four brothers and imprisoned us in the fortress of Shushi. We stayed in jail for nine months and eight days, where we were tortured by his Tatars, Fath 'Alī and Ṭāher, and their three friends. They beat us daily, demanding the above documents. While we were in jail, the khan sent other Tatars to the Gandzasar monastery, where they took all the gold and silver crosses, bowls, and chalices, valued at 78,000 rubles. He took all the copper utensils and our flocks and killed two of my brothers, Patriarch Hovhannēs and Yüzbaşı Daniēl Hasan Jalalean. The first he poisoned,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 614), 454-455.

<sup>2</sup> Sargis Hasan Jalalean, former catholicos of Aghuank'.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1, file 1303, ff. 7-8.

the second he cast into a well and then hacked into pieces. He thus ended up with the above documents and we do not know where he put them or what has happened to them.

These events are known to all the Karabagh people. Ebrāhīm's wife, Biki-Aqa, who was alive at the time, interceded on our behalf and had us released. We returned to Gandzasar, but fearing for our lives, we left in 1788 for Elisavetpol<sup>1</sup> and sought the protection of Jāvād Khan. We stayed there for eight years, until the Russian army under General Zubov arrived in 1796, when we left with it for King Giorgi's Georgia. We stayed there for thirteen years. When Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh was killed by the Russian troops for his enmity to Russia, I, in 1809, received a decree from His Imperial Majesty, naming me the archbishop over the Armenians of Karabagh, and in 1812 I returned to Gandzasar, where I continue in my old age to pray for the health and long life of the Emperor and all the Russian people.

The Holy Synod at Etchmiadzin will confirm that our family patriarchs, Esayi and Nersēs, did indeed receive the stated decrees in 1724 and 1726, and the records of Imperial manifestos should have information as well.

I have presented this letter to Major General Prince Madatov. I remain in prayer for Your Excellency's health, Metropolitan of the Armenians of Aghuank', Archbishop Sargis Hasan Jalalean.

## 256

### *Survey of Karabagh* (1823)<sup>1</sup>

The city of Shushi has three quarters (Persian *mahalle*, Armenian *tagh*): Tabrizli, with 162 households, Kazanchali, with 87 households, and Aglisli, with 122 households. In addition there are 41 families related to the khan; 9 households of Armenian clerics; 103 households

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<sup>1</sup> The survey begun in early 1823 was completed on 17 April. It was conducted by state counselor Mogilevskii and Colonel Ermolov II (a relative of General Ermolov). The survey, some 300 pages, was published in Tiflis in 1866 without pagination. It contains the names of the districts, villages, and the total taxes paid to the last khan of Karabagh. The material has been summarized here. Parts of the survey (especially material on taxes) is in *AKAK*, VI/1 (docs. 1305, 1308), 852-858.

subject to Prince Madatov; and 893 households attached to the various begs and aqalars (both Muslims and Armenians). The Karabagh province is divided into twenty one *mahals* (districts), nine large estates belonging to Armenian and Muslim officials (22 Armenian villages and 90 Muslim villages and nomadic settlements), landholdings belonging to Ĵa'far-qolī Khan, the brother of Mahdī-qolī (4 Armenian and 7 Tatar villages and 68 nomadic settlements), and lands belonging to Mahdī-qolī Khan (33 Armenian villages and 127 Muslim villages or settlements). The *mahals* are: Sisian (2 Armenian and 9 Tatar villages), Demurchasanli (8 nomadic settlements), Kiupar (6 Armenian villages), Bargushat (2 Armenian and 3 Tatar villages), Bagabiurt (5 nomadic settlements), Kiaberli [Kebirli] (1 Armenian and 3 Tatar villages and 15 nomadic settlements), Tat'ew (12 Armenian and 1 Tatar villages), Javanshir (1 Tatar village and 31 nomadic settlements), Talish (Gulistan) (7 Armenian and 3 Tatar villages), Khachen (12 Armenian villages), Jraberd (8 Armenian villages), Pissian (32 nomadic settlements and 3 villages with a mixed Armenian and Tatar population), Dizak (14 Armenian and 1 Tatar villages), Otuz-iki (2 Armenian and 3 Tatar villages, and 17 nomadic settlements), Ikirmi-dort (2 Armenian and 5 Tatar villages and 1 nomadic settlement), Karachorli (7 nomadic settlements), Varanda (23 Armenian and 1 Tatar villages), Khurdapara-dizak (12 Tatar villages), Javanshir-dizak (3 Armenian and 2 Tatar villages and 13 nomadic settlements), Ajanan-Turk (4 Armenian and 5 Tatar villages), and Jebrail (1 Tatar village and 3 nomadic settlements). Altogether 9,073 families paid taxes to the khan (30,364 rubles and 10½ kopeks per year) and 9,490 families were tax-exempt.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the khan farmed out weighing stations (*mīzān*), shops in the bazaar, dye-works, gardens, and orchards, etc., for a total of 32,433 rubles and 61 kopeks per year.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The large number of tax-exempt families (more than half of the taxpayers) suggests that they may have lied to the Russians to avoid paying taxes to the new administration.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the Armenian districts in the highlands of Karabagh and in present-day Zangezur had retained their Armenian majority. The Armenian population thus did not arrive, as some claim, after 1828. Most of those Armenian meliks and their followers who had fled the repression of Ebrāhīm Khan began returning to Karabagh starting in 1805, when Karabagh became a Russian protectorate. The Kurds formed a



## 257

*General Madatov to General Ermolov*  
(24 July 1823)<sup>1</sup>

Lt. Col. Starkov reported on the twelfth of this month (report no. 1040) that he had trouble convincing the more established, wealthy citizens of Old Shemakha<sup>2</sup> to construct new shops. Some of them who had asked for and had received permission to build new shops have not done so. Starkov's report indicated that many citizens of Shemakha would be willing to construct respectable shops if they are given permission to do so. One of them, the first to approach him, was an Armenian born in Van, Hakob Mugdsi Kasparov, who requested a land allocation for ten shops and the permission for a non-Shemakha resident to build them. Since the town is a major trade center it would be beneficial to make it attractive by building decent shops. For my part, I see no objection to giving merchants from other areas land belonging to the treasury so that they could construct shops.

## 258

*Nersēs of Ashtarak's Letter to Hoseyn-qolī Khan, Sardar of Erevan*<sup>3</sup>  
(21 September 1823)

Your letters to me, one earlier and another now, I received through the esteemed Ĵa'far Khan. I am pleased that the exalted sardar has not forgotten me. I swear by God that your kind remarks will never be forgotten. What surprises me and others is that despite such kindness, the Holy See of Etchmiadzin is under a heavy debt. The catholicos and the brotherhood are in such dire straits--a condition not previously witnessed in all the 1,520 years since the construction of the See. More surprising is that you believe that the debt was due to the expenses incurred when the roof of the cathedral of Hazarapat was renovated in

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good part of the nomadic population of Karabagh. The rest of the nomads were composed of various Turkish tribes.

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1247), 829.

<sup>2</sup> Old Shemakha was northeast of New Shemakha. Its location had made it a target for raids by Lesghians.

<sup>3</sup> HASE, pp. 28-30.

stone, as well as to the cost of the seminary and the printing press. The interest was compounded to the original sum and it grew rapidly. In addition, you claim that the hierarchy of Etchmiadzin borrowed money with interest from other sources to pay for the expenses of the Holy See and now deny their actions, and furthermore, that I left for Tiflis and abandoned Etchmiadzin. Truth cannot be hidden. I state by this letter that the entire cost of all the renovation and construction could not have exceeded 2,000 *tomāns*, let's say 2,500 *tomāns* maximum, the interest for which from the time of the loans should be clear.

But the debt of the See, at the time of the departure of the catholicos, was 33,684 *tomāns*, 5,000 *dīnārs*, and 19 *shāhīs*,<sup>1</sup> a small percentage of which was garnered in the last five years, but a larger part of which was accumulated in the last two years and six months. During that time the creditors have received 35,536 *tomāns*, 3,000 *dīnārs*, and half a *šāhī*. And after all this the Holy See still owes the creditors in Erevan alone more than 32,000 *tomāns*. Therefore, it is time that we find out who is lying, Etchmiadzin or the creditors.

As to the charge of my abandoning Etchmiadzin: Etchmiadzin knows that I have not forgotten it and cannot forget it as long as I live. I am sure that the sardar's secretary wrote this [accusation]. The sardar, with his wisdom and his heart, knows that I am first and foremost the servant of Etchmiadzin, of Catholicos Ep'rem, the brotherhood, and the Armenian nation. The sardar's claim that the Armenian people have refused to help Etchmiadzin is also not true. From whom does he think all the money that has been paid so far was collected?

The sardar also writes that the honorable Ĵa'far Khan came with the prince's request for the return of the catholicos to Etchmiadzin and that the catholicos refused--a great loss for the Holy See. How can the catholicos return before resolving the debt situation? I am sending you a copy of the letter Ĵa'far Khan addressed to me, from which you will realize that the catholicos cannot return to the See without resolving the debt problem. I will not mention that the 1,223 *tomāns* that I sent towards the 2,000 *tomān* debt has not counted for even one 'abbāsī.

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<sup>1</sup> One *tomān* equaled 10,000 *dīnārs*, 50 'abbāsīs, 10 *rīāls* or *mīnāltūns* or *šāheb-gerāns*; one *šāhī* equaled 50 *dīnārs*.

The sardar adds that the debt and shortcomings of the See are obvious to all. I hope that every wise person can see how this debt was accumulated and what the shortcomings of the See are, for which I am not to blame. Ĵa'far Khan reiterated other unpleasant words of yours to me. Although I know that you do not favor me, I continue to pray for your health.<sup>1</sup>

## 259

*Nersēs of Ashtarak to 'Abbās Mīrzā*  
(1 November 1823)<sup>2</sup>

[First Letter] The Etchmiadzin See, as everybody knows, has for centuries been under the rule of the Persian state, and during all that time it enjoyed the special benevolence of the Persian kings, maintaining its autonomy, security, and property.

It was only in the year 1212 of the *hijra* (1797) when Moḥammad Khan went against the great khan and set himself up as the independent ruler of Erevan, that the decrees of the past rulers of Persia regarding the laws governing the Armenian Church and its million followers were violated.<sup>3</sup> Wishing to grab the riches of the Holy See, the khan meddled in the affairs of the Church and in the election of its catholicos, which required the approval of all the Armenians living in Persia and in the Ottoman and Russian Empires, as well as the confirmation of the rulers of those lands. Using force, the khan put his own candidate on the throne and almost destroyed the Holy See by squandering its treasury. In fact, if it had not been for the efforts of the Russian emperor on behalf of His Armenian subjects, and the intercession of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and other lands, the mighty Faṭḥ 'Alī Shah and you, his heir, would not have rushed to the rescue of Etchmiadzin. You returned the rightful Catholicos Daniēl, who was under house arrest in Marāḡe, and installed him at Etchmiadzin. The

<sup>1</sup> On 13 September Nersēs wrote a similar letter to Ermolov, *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 615), 455-456.

<sup>2</sup> *HASE*, pp. 11-21. Written by Nersēs under the seal of the catholicos.

<sup>3</sup> Āḡā Moḥammad Khan had exiled Moḥammad Khan from Erevan. The latter returned after the death of the former in 1797.

Holy See began to revive. A year later, however, the government of Erevan once again began its harassment of Etchmiadzin, as is well known to your sunlike Prince, who has favored us from the beginning.

At the present, speaking on behalf of the Holy See, the Catholicos of All Armenians, my cleric brothers, and my unfortunate people, I appeal to Your Highness to help us end the debt claims against Etchmiadzin. I am sending Archbishop Martiros, Prior of the Tat'ew Monastery in Karabagh, who will present my letter detailing the robbing of the Holy See, and the difficulties of the catholicos and the entire brotherhood during the past fifteen years.

In the year 1224 of the *hijra* (1808), when the news of the Russian troops' approach toward Erevan reached the sardar, he took more than 2,500 *tomāns* and some other items from Etchmiadzin, at a time when Catholicos Daniēl was at his deathbed. After the death of the catholicos and the retreat of the Russian forces, the same sardar took more than a 1,000 *tomāns*, while [his brother] Ḥasan Khan installed a number of Persian overseers and demanded that the priest who served the late catholicos be handed to him [as a hostage?]. The priest was finally released after a ransom of some 500 *tomāns*. In addition they took all our wheat and barley to the Erevan fortress, promising its return after the Russian retreat. They returned only one-fifth, and we were forced to buy seeds from various places at 47 *para* a liter for our needs as well as for our next harvest.

In 1226 (1810) the brother of Naqī Khan arrived with a large force, caused havoc, and demanded the return of some of those who had sought sanctuary at Etchmiadzin--an act that even the worst khans of Erevan had not contemplated in the past. The sardar was in Tabriz at the time, and when I asked Ḥasan Khan to punish Naqī Khan's brother, he beheaded the refugees and kept me for sixteen days in a room in his palace, threatening to tie me to the mouth of a cannon and blow me to pieces. He took a senior member of the brotherhood and two of his aides and threw them in jail and did not release them until he received 400 *tomāns* for himself and 500 *tomāns* for his subordinates.

Since the Holy See was without a catholicos, the brotherhood felt that if there was a catholicos present, Etchmiadzin would once again

benefit from the protection of the shah and his heir, as it had in the past.

When the new catholicos [Ep'rem] first met Your Highness he did not feel comfortable in describing these details, especially since Your Highness personally assured him that the See and its clergy would be treated with respect. In addition you decreed that the See was to be exempt from all taxes and services and would receive an annual income of 400 *tomāns*. Furthermore you, in the presence of the catholicos, ordered Hōseyn-qolī Khan Sardar to take special care of Etchmiadzin and not allow even birds to transgress its territory. We thus stopped worrying about our losses and hoped for better days. Unfortunately since that time, although the birds have not brought any damage, lions<sup>1</sup> and tigers [in the form of the Erevan administration] have continued to devour us, despite the orders of Your Highness.

When in 1227 (1811) Your Highness promised your eternal support of the See and ordered the return of the village of Ashtarak, which had been taken from Etchmiadzin by the father of Moḥammad Khan, Hōseyn 'Alī Khan, the sardar demanded a compensation of 1,000 *tomāns* for its return. The See could not pay the sum and the sardar, despite Your Highness's order, has kept the village and its entire produce for the past thirteen years.

In 1228 (1812) the sardar forcibly took over the village of Eghvard, four and a half *dangs*<sup>2</sup> [from the total six *dangs*] of which belonged to Etchmiadzin,<sup>3</sup> and has been collecting its produce up to this day. In the same year he forcibly took a student named Aharon to his palace and circumcised him against his will.

In 1231 (1815), the sardar demanded 400 *tomāns* from the same villages which had been declared tax-exempt by the shah and Your Highness, the heir-apparent. In addition he forced the peasants to perform some 400 *tomāns* worth of *bīgār* (*corvée*).

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<sup>1</sup> Ḥasan Khan of Erevan, who disliked the Armenians, was nicknamed *Sari Aslan*, the "Yellow Lion."

<sup>2</sup> *Dang* was one-sixth part of any real estate.

<sup>3</sup> Nersēs based his claim on a document granted to Etchmiadzin in 1431, in which a number of villages were designated as *waqf* of the Holy See by Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu, see *MAAC*, Persian Manuscripts, record group 29, file 1z, doc. 1004.

In 1232 (1816) when the brotherhood petitioned him to permit the resettlement of the inhabitants of Moğānlū from Etchmiadzin [to Moğānlū], the sardar demanded and received 500 *tomāns* to keep them under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin.

In 1234 (1818) Colonel Moḥammad Khan arrived with a strict order to put six archbishops and other leading clerics into a room, immure and suffocate them on the pretext that they did not obey the catholicos. Despite our pleas and those of the catholicos that this was not the case, he refused to budge until he received a promissory note for 1,000 *tomāns*, payable in one month. In addition he took approximately 100 *tomāns* as his overseer compensation and to make up for being denied the opportunity of torturing the bishops. In the same year he arrested a number of notables residing in the lands of the Holy See, charging them with selling without permission cotton that they had grown on their own land. After fining them 200 *tomāns*, he released them.

In 1236 (1820) the catholicos visited the sardar wearing a medal given to him by His Imperial Majesty, the Russian tsar, a medal about which the sardar had notified Your Highness at the time of its presentation. In fact Your Highness had written a letter to the catholicos expressing your delight and congratulating him on that honor. A few years later, the sardar ignored the fact that a number of high-ranking Russian officers, such as Nicholas Fedorovich Rtishchev, Alexei Petrovich Ermolov, and many other generals and officials of the Russian Empire wear medals from the mighty Faṭḥ 'Alī Shah. Now, after the [last] visit of the catholicos, the sardar wrote to him stating that "if you present yourself again wearing that medal, I shall hang you by the ribbons of that decoration."

In 1237 (1821) when the catholicos was in Karabagh, two bishops--Grigor, the keeper of the chests, and P'ilipos, newly-arrived from Smyrna--died. It was rumored that the latter was rich. Their cells were sealed by the senior archbishop to be opened after their burial and the contents turned over to Etchmiadzin. Hearing of this, the sardar sent Ĵa'far Khan to Etchmiadzin to put his own seal on the cell doors. A few days later, the sardar himself arrived and ordered Ĵafar Khan to open the cells and make an inventory list of their contents. The broth-

erhood pleaded with him not to do this, stating that such a thing had never been done and that no outsider could interfere in the internal affairs of the Holy See. They noted that the clergy and the Armenian people would react badly to this when news of it broke out. Ĵa'far Khan informed the sardar of the objections, but he ignored them and demanded that the Holy See pay him 15,000 *tomāns*. If they paid him, they could have their wish, otherwise Ĵa'far Khan would force the doors. Not receiving the specified amount of money, Ĵa'far and his attendants opened the doors of the cells of the late bishops and took all the gold and silver, putting it in two small chests. In another chest he took signet rings, watches, and other valuables. Other items were taken by him and his servants, some openly, others secretly. He then proceeded to record the remaining items in Persian and Armenian. He took the three chests to his residence and after removing whatever pleased him, called the bishops as if he was opening them for the first time in their presence. He then recorded the items and delivered them to the administrators of Etchmiadzin. As the saying goes, only the ears remained from the sheep. After that, claiming that there was little found in the cells, they bound the student of the archbishop from Smyrna, Vardapet Step'anos, put a stone between his knees and pulled the ropes until his knees almost cracked in two. They then put him face down and raised his feet, hitting them with birch rods [*falak*], so that he would confess where the remaining money was and when it was taken by the treasurer of the Holy See. They then heated iron bars to brand him, but after receiving 40 *tomāns* and a promissory note for 60 *tomāns*, Ĵa'far Khan released him. He then demanded entrance to the treasury where the Holy Lance, as well as the relics of St. Gregory and numerous gifts from abroad, were held. The brotherhood resisted and stated that only the treasurer could do that, and finally Ĵa'far Khan yielded. He demanded, however, that in his place a favorite vardapet of his [in his pay?] be allowed to enter. The vardapet brought out a chest. After opening it he found a watch with chimes, took it, and returned to his residence.

In 1238, on the 7th of *Zol-hijja* (September 1822), Mīrzā Ĵabbār, a trusted official of the sardar, arrived at Etchmiadzin with the same purpose [to steal]. After enjoying the blessings of our brotherhood, he

ordered his servants to put the brotherhood to the sword. Two bishops were severely wounded, one in two and the other in three places. Attacking a vardapet, they severed his hood. Fortunately the cotton in the hood saved his head. They crushed the bones of another vardapet's hand. Another vardapet was beaten so severely that he fainted. They then wanted to cut his head off, but at that moment another official of the sardar arrived and saved his life. One of our watchmen, however, was killed.

The looting and harassment of Etchmiadzin has not ceased. For example, Ĵa'far Khan, for the past few years has occupied thirteen shops in one of the caravansaries of Etchmiadzin, where he sells his own wine, while he forbids the Etchmiadzin residents to sell wine produced from their own grapes. He purchases wine from his subordinates at low cost and sells it for twice or thrice the value. Thus the clergy and the Armenian population have to spend some 1,500 *tomāns* annually on wine.

It is not surprising, therefore, that due to such irregularities and illegal actions, the Holy See went into debt to the sum of 33,684 *tomāns* and 5000 *dinārs* and 19 *šāhīs*--a small part of which was accumulated during the last five years, but the larger part in the last two and a half years, prior to the departure of the catholicos from Etchmiadzin. Although during this time the Holy See has paid 35,536 *tomāns*, 3,000 *dinārs* and half a *šāhī*, it still owes more than 32,000 *tomāns*, the principle of which is subject to interest every six months, at a rate of 30 percent. Other machinations add to this sum as well.

The sardar has taken the side of the creditors and is blaming the brotherhood and me for the losses suffered by the creditors. It is clear to everyone that the Holy See has always relied on voluntary donations from the Armenian nation, as well as from income from its property. At this time, however, Etchmiadzin's income cannot even sustain its daily expenses.

The catholicos had come here to find a way to rid the See of this great debt and the huge interest rate. He was to return to the See to safeguard it from extortion. On his arrival in Karabagh he and all the Armenians heard of the death of the two bishops and the sardar's and Ĵa'far Khan's behavior and demands. The Armenians here refused to donate money until the See is not under the yoke of despotism and



until such a time when it returns to the conditions prior to 1212 (1797). We, together with the catholicos, have tried to find a way out, but the news of the terrible conditions of the See has made all Armenians adamant.

I hope that Your Highness, the heir-apparent, will carefully read my message and pay heed to Archbishop Martiros. I pray that you will favor the brotherhood, the catholicos, the Holy See and myself by helping us in this matter. I put all my hopes in your benevolence. May you find a solution and end the robberies, the debt, and the illegal behavior of the local administration.

[Second letter, same date]<sup>1</sup>

Realizing that it is your custom to hear requests in person, I am forwarding these with Archbishop Martiros, who will speak on my behalf. I request that they be translated into Persian and read in your presence.

You [the heir-apparent] are the sole protector of the Holy See and if you wish for a successful outcome, it will be successful. If not, neither the catholicos, nor the brotherhood, nor even the entire Armenian nation--no matter how much they wished to--would be able to restore Etchmiadzin.

Our entire nation thanks you that you and your august father have favored us more than any previous Persian monarchs and we hope that you shall continue to do so.

Relying fully on such hopes, I have decided to present to Your Highness everything that neither the catholicos, nor anyone else, has wanted to, or has been able to, disclose. I am presenting this through my messenger, Martiros, Archbishop of the Tat'ew Monastery.

Here is my request:

Due to the benevolence shown to us by Your Highness, we request that you decree that no one but yourself or someone empowered by you will have the right to make any requests of the Holy See, the catholicos, or the brotherhood. Otherwise the Holy See cannot benefit

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<sup>1</sup> HASE, pp. 21-25. The second letter has Nersēs' signature and seal.

from the benevolence of its king, and the officials, realizing the weakness of the state, will continue their extortion.

As to the debt of the Holy See, it is the result of the harsh demands of the creditors, who charge 30 percent interest payable every six months. The See has already paid 35,536 *tomāns* and if we add the money extorted forcibly from the brotherhood, the figure increases to more than 50,000 *tomāns*. After all this the See still owes 32,000 *tomāns*. Does Your Highness feel that the demands of the creditors, which have made beggars of the brotherhood, are just?

If His Highness agrees [we can resolve this fairly]. I suggest that whoever has had any financial dealings with the Holy See present themselves to His Highness in Tabriz or to me in Tiflis. Two respected Muslim merchants, appointed by the creditors, and two Armenian merchants, appointed by us, will examine the accounts of those who have already received money from the See and those who are still owed sums. Although everyone agrees that an annual interest rate of 8 to 10 percent is customary, we are willing to accept an interest rate of 12 percent in this instance. Let every creditor be paid the principal and the interest for the duration of the loan. If anyone has received more, they would return the excess and those who have received less would be compensated accordingly.

Or [another solution], a creditor who has collected the crushing percentage should return the excess over 8 percent per annum collected up to now. We will then present him with twice the amount of the principal and he can keep the excess for as long as his original loan was used by the Holy See plus an extra year. He will then return the money, without interest, to me or to our representative.

As to the illegal robberies which I have listed in my complaint, we will abide by the decision of Your Highness to do what you deem necessary.

As to the property of the two late bishops, if Your Highness wishes, we can produce a list of all the items from the papers of the deceased, from Ĵa'far Khan's receipt, and from other witnesses.

The administration of the Holy See requires many people and if Your Highness gives me a decree I shall organize the brotherhood according to their rank and abilities without causing any problems for the governing bodies of Erevan.

I also request that I be permitted, once or twice a year, to personally report to Your Highness on the affairs of the Holy See, since neither the catholicos, nor anyone else there, has had the courage to inform Your Highness about past abuses and the reasons for the damaging situation at the See. If I had been at the See, I would also be afraid to report to Your Highness. In fact, I myself did not and could not complain to you while I was at Etchmiadzin.

## 260

*Report from Archbishop Martiros to Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
(January 1824)<sup>1</sup>

On 17 December 1823 at 9:30 in the morning we arrived in Tabriz and were taken to the home of Aqa Beg. On the 19th Aqa Beg met with the prince and the Qā'em Maqām.<sup>2</sup> On the 20th he escorted us to them. The prince greeted me with love and respect and asked me to sit in front of him. He then took your letters [written on behalf of the catholicos and yourself] and after examining the seals and signatures commented that although the handwriting was the same there were two different signatures. After that, he gave them to Aqa Beg to be translated into Persian. He then asked the whereabouts of the supreme patriarch and the state of his health. He also asked about your health. As is customary with the Persians, he began to extol my merits and despite my objections continued to do so. A couple of hours after our arrival we had coffee and then he gave us leave.

The prince ordered Aqa Beg to treat me with great respect, as due to an honored guest of His Highness. While we were sitting with the Qā'em Maqām they brought the writ of the prince in which he ordered the sardar to dispatch Bishops Ep'rem and Step'anos to Tabriz so that he might question them about the affairs of the Holy See and other matters. We asked Aqa Beg to inform His Highness that the two vardapets were the only ones capable of administering the See. We re-

<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 45 doc. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā 'Isā Bozorg, son of Mīrzā Hōseyñ Farāhānī, was the vizier of 'Abbās Mīrzā. In 1810 he was promoted to deputy of the prime minister and received the title of Qā'em Maqām.

quested that one of them be permitted to stay behind. The prince ordered [his secretary] to erase the name of Bishop Step'anos from the writ and leave that of Bishop Ep'rem. I wrote a note to Ep'rem to present himself without delay.

On the 21st a courier rushed the letter and the writ to Erevan. That same day the prince went hunting, and after killing a wild ram he sent it to us. Later that day the *farrāš* (usher) arrived and escorted me to the court. Aqa Beg, who had gone there earlier, was waiting for me. We entered the room of the *išik-āğāšī* (chamberlain) and met Aqa Beg. Following the Persian custom, Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Khan, the *išik-āğāšī* went in front and I and Aqa Beg followed. After going through [passages] where we were bowed to three times, we were admitted to the presence of the prince. He greeted me and asked me about the catholicos. I replied, "He is praying for Your health and Your kingdom." He then asked about you and I gave the same reply. The prince then said, "The catholicos left for six months but has stayed for two years. Why doesn't he return to his hearth?" I replied, "I was present when the catholicos arrived in Karabagh. The Armenians and others in the region expressed their will to give whatever they could to cover the debt of the See. Right then, however, we received the news of the death of the two vardapets and the demands for 15,000 *tomāns* from Ĵa'far Khan." The prince commented that my letters stated the same. He then added, "Why did you continue to suffer so much without informing me through your vardapets who presented me with annual gifts? We do not need your gifts, but we do welcome news from your community." I replied, "We were scared. Even now if we were in Erevan, no one would dare to complain against the sardar or his officials." The prince said "The dog Sardar Ḥoseyn Khan cannot go against Our will. Do not think I am not capable of punishing him. Or do you think the dogs Ĵa'far Khan or Mīrzā Ĵabbār have any authority over Our domain? Do you think I am not able to bring them here, and blind them or have their hands cut off?" I replied, "May I die under your feet, we know that Your Highness is almighty and can do as he pleases, but up until now we did not think of complaining to you." The prince answered, "Fine, then, if you could not inform me, why didn't you ask my servant, Aqa Beg, who is Armenian and of the same faith

as yourselves, to speak on your behalf?" Aqa Beg interjected here that he was not told anything. The prince added that this has been going on for fourteen years and that he would get to the bottom of it. "It is unthinkable that all these claims could be false. There must be some truth in them. However, since the catholicos and Nersēs are in Tiflis, one might assume, although it's not true, that they are trying to deprive the sardar, my servant, from my favor. We are not like other people [Muslims]. We recognize Christ as a great prophet, the virginity of Mary, and the twelve apostles as our *imams* (saints). That is why we want to protect the Church of Christ. We helped Israyēl Vardapet with 5,000 *tomāns* for the construction of his monastery and did not send troops to Tat'ew." I commented that he was right and that the monasteries that were close to Tabriz had always benefited from his protection and generosity. But Etchmiadzin, the center of the Armenian Church, was far from his protection, hence the catholicos and the brotherhood were forced to seek refuge in foreign lands. The prince responded, "It is not my fault but yours. You did not inform me. In your times of trouble I invited Ep'rem to come from St. Petersburg and when I met him on the plain of Virap, I accorded him the respect due his office. We also have mullahs. Some have given themselves totally to religion, others are engaged in both religious and secular affairs. I saw the catholicos as a man of religion and Nersēs as a man of action, a person who was wise and was capable of both religious and secular offices. I entrusted Etchmiadzin to Nersēs, but he abandoned it and left for Tiflis. Where is my fault? The fault lies with Nersēs."

I replied, "Archbishop Nersēs is not guilty. After all they threatened to blow him up with a cannon. He fled to Tiflis to save his life." The prince answered, "I have ordered that vardapets from Etchmiadzin present themselves here; we shall soon learn the truth." Here Aqa Beg added. "You asked for two vardapets, but he has asked the Qā'em Maqām that one present himself here and the other remain to administer the See." "That is fine, we shall learn all from him," replied the prince. He then added, "This petition seems to have been given to Nersēs by the Russians, for it is in their style of writing." I swore that it was written by Nersēs in Armenian and was translated by Mīrzā Abraham. The prince asked Aqa Beg if Mīrzā Abraham was his

brother. When the latter answered in the affirmative, the prince asked, "Does he translate all my correspondence?" "Yes," replied Aqa Beg. I added that Nersēs is the most learned man among the Armenians and Russians. Everyone seeks his advice, and he writes all the important letters for both the Armenians and the Russians, which are then translated. Aqa Beg confirmed this. The prince accepted this and we left his presence.

On 25 December Aqa Beg went to the palace and informed the prince that we had brought gifts. That same day I was called to the palace, where the prince informed me that since the catholicos and Nersēs had sought refuge in Tiflis it was not right for him to accept gifts from them. In fact he had made a list of all the gifts he had previously received from Etchmiadzin and was planning to return them. I replied that Etchmiadzin for centuries has presented gifts to rulers and that he should accept them as a token of our gratitude. He responded that he will not do so until he can grant our petition. He then added, "Nersēs has left for Tiflis, where he is building churches and from where he asks me to return his brother's property in Erevan." I answered, "It has long been a tradition of the Church to send a vardapet to Tiflis to supervise the affairs of the Armenian community in Georgia. Nersēs did not go on his own but at the behest of the people and on the orders of the catholicos." I then added, "Nersēs' presence in Tiflis has actually benefited your state, for I, with my own ears, have heard how he has defended the authority of Your Highness and his majesty the shah in front of the Russians. In fact if it was not for his advising patience, the entire brotherhood of Etchmiadzin would have left following the departure of the catholicos, the problems following the death of the two vardapets, and the extortion by Ĵa'far Khan." I then presented a copy of the letter from the sardar in which he demanded 5,000 to 6,000 *tomāns* in annual tribute from Etchmiadzin. I added that Oshakan always belonged to Etchmiadzin and even Moḥammad Khan, who had behaved as an autonomous ruler, had recognized that fact based on decrees of previous kings.

The prince replied that although the sardar's letter does mention that amount he did not collect that much from us. I answered that he didn't collect it in direct taxes but in indirect ways. In fact when Ĵa'far

Khan found out about Nersēs' petition to the prince, he went to Ashtarak and destroyed the house of Nersēs' brother. That is why the archbishop had asked the prince to restore his brother's property. I asked how the sardar could dare to act in such a way in the realm of the prince. The prince replied, "I plan to judge him for this and other wrongdoings. Tell me, however, will the catholicos return to Etchmiadzin?" I said, "Even though I cannot concretely answer your question, I am sure that if Your Highness takes the Holy See under your protection, the catholicos will return even if they [Russians] chain him." The prince responded, "I will do as you wish. I shall send my servant to Etchmiadzin and he shall place it under my supervision. Neither the sardar, nor his officials will set foot in Etchmiadzin. I shall punish Ĵa'far Khan and Mīrzā Ĵabbār and return the property of the late vardapets. I shall roast their fathers [Ĵa'far Khan's and Mīrzā Ĵabbār's] on the spit. I shall force all the creditors not to take more than 20 percent. But I have to have the catholicos back at the See. Either the catholicos should return, or Nersēs, who has been acting like one, and who is capable of being one, should become the catholicos. I would prefer this, for he is wise and has our love. If this is not resolved, however, I shall write to the Armenians of Turkey and other places [India and Persia] and shall ask them to elect a new catholicos. I shall then place their choice on the holy throne." Turning to Aqa Beg he said, "Find out from Martiros if the catholicos is planning to return." After he gave us leave, Aqa Beg questioned me on the intentions of the catholicos, but I replied that a lot depended on the prince's actions and that I did not know what the catholicos would do.

On 1 January, the Qā'em Maqām invited us to see him, asked us about our health, and assured us that our requests would be fulfilled. That evening he sent us a plate of sweets, for which we sent our thanks. On the evening of 6 January, Mīrzā Mūsā Khan also sent us sweets and wished us happy holidays.

On 9 January, we were invited back to the palace, where the prince accepted our gifts saying, "I planned to accept these only if I managed to resolve your problem, but since you complained that I no longer love your people, I state that I have special love for the Armenians and that if the catholicos or Nersēs present themselves, I swear I will re-

ceive them with great honor, give them *kal'at* (robes of honor) and gifts, and Etchmiadzin's problems will vanish. Our Holy place, the Ka'ba, is in the hands of the Ottoman Empire and although we are one of its protectors, the local people have to obey the Turkish pasha there. Etchmiadzin is in our territory and you should, therefore, obey us, rather than sit in Tiflis and send messages through the Russians. That is why I do not trust their loyalty." I replied, "Although they are in Tiflis, their greatest concern is the situation in Etchmiadzin. Nersēs even sent the merchant Aqa 'Alī 1,225 *tomāns* as part of the debt of the Holy See. Ĵa'far Khan, however, sent a letter to Tiflis stating that the money you sent to Aqa 'Alī was given to other creditors, from whom he [Ĵa'far Khan] had borrowed money for the administration of Etchmiadzin. Hence the money sent by Nersēs did not count for even one *'abbāsī* towards the debt of the Church." I then presented Ĵa'far Khan's letter to the archbishop. The prince, after showing some doubt about the validity of the seal, seemed to have accepted the accuracy of the letter and asked why hadn't I presented this before, so that he could have included it in his correspondence to Erevan. I explained that this was the first opportunity I had to do so. The prince stated that all would be resolved once the vardapet from Etchmiadzin arrives here. We were given leave and went to our residence.

On 10 January, Archbishop Ep'rem arrived and on the 12 he had an audience with the prince and answered all his questions regarding Ĵa'far Khan and Ĵabbār Khan. On 19 January, they sent me gifts consisting of a gold-embroidered mantle from Kāšān and a red shawl from Kermān. On 20 January, I was invited to the palace, where I was presented with *kal'at* and was led to the prince. The sultans of Sharur and Mamarza and the prince were having a discussion concerning Etchmiadzin. The prince was very angry about Ĵa'far Khan's and Mīrzā Ĵabbār's behavior and was sorry that had given the title of khan to the former. The sultans tried to justify the actions of the sardar by arguing that he was of the same rank as Ermolov and that the property of the dead vardapets was sold to pay the creditors. They added that they had no knowledge of the destruction of Nersēs' brother's house or of the sale of wine. The prince responded, "It seems you do not drink. I suggest that after you return you pay a visit to the bazaar of Etchmiadzin



and buy wine there. You will then realize who is profiting from that. I am very angry that the sardar has treated Etchmiadzin as his fief. Nersēs has written to me from Tiflis and Martiros has personally told me that the brotherhood at Etchmiadzin is afraid to complain. Tell the sardar that no Muslim has the right to set foot in Etchmiadzin. Tell him to restore the property of Nersēs' brother and to write to the catholicos and Nersēs and assure them that he will protect the See and not permit any of the creditors to charge more than 20 percent. Anyone who has taken more than their due should return the sums to Etchmiadzin. Tell him that I shall send Aqa Beg or another official, accompanied by retainers, who will guard the interests of the See." Here I commented that although Shah 'Abbās had granted the See a number of villages and the canal of Shah-Ark, the present action of the prince, during this difficult time, had more value and would inform all our people of his benevolence. In the annals of Etchmiadzin, this act would live forever.

After that I reminded the prince about the captive [Armenian] woman. He replied that she did not wish to return, but that he would send her to our residence, so that we can confirm her wish. I managed, with great difficulty and the payment of 50 *tomāns*, to gain her freedom.

After that I asked about the cargo of Vardapet T'ovma, which they had refused to release without the prince's approval. The prince ordered that it be given to Vardapet Ep'rem so that he could take what belonged to Etchmiadzin and send the rest to Tiflis. We then returned to our residence and told all that had transpired to Bishop Ep'rem, who immediately went to examine the cargo. Since Ep'rem still feared the khan of Erevan, he was given a special decree which authorized him to act as the administrator of the See. On 23 January, we left Tabriz for Tat'ew.

## 261

*'Abbās Mirzā to Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
(22 February 1824)<sup>1</sup>

Upon the receipt of our sovereign decree you will be informed that both your petitions and your lavish gifts were handed to us by your trusted and esteemed Archbishop Martiros and that we are now aware of all that has transpired at the Holy See. Your devotion to the See and to the Armenian people has made us so happy that we cannot describe it in writing. At the same time we have also experienced pain when we heard of the great sufferings of the catholicos and the brotherhood. I have examined and questioned the details and assure you that our love for the catholicos and the brotherhood has not diminished. We have decreed that either twice a year a trusted and wise vardapet appointed by the catholicos present himself to us and report on whatever has transpired at the See and with the brotherhood; or that you report to us regularly on everything so that we can be aware of the behavior of our officials.

In the meantime, a vardapet did arrive here from the See. However, he refused to tell us anything and did not confirm or deny any of the charges listed in your letters. No matter how much we tried we were unable to find out anything from him. Since we cannot ignore the situation and have to resolve it, we have decreed that all creditors of Etchmiadzin who reside within the Persian domain can collect only 20 percent and not more, so that the catholicos can return and rule over the brotherhood. Once he returns to the Holy See he shall witness the full benevolence of the shah. It became clear from your letters that among the brotherhood you are the greatest, most devout to your faith, and wisest. As to what has transpired at Etchmiadzin, I blame Bishop Ep'rem, who as the leader of the brotherhood failed to inform me and has continued to do so until now.<sup>2</sup> Your request on behalf of the property of your brother will be taken care of. Archbishop Martiros will explain the details.<sup>3</sup> Consider this response as a sign of our special re-

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<sup>1</sup> HASE, pp. 25-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ep'rem was appointed by Daniël as his successor during the former's illness.

<sup>3</sup> It seems that Nersēs' brother, who had remained in Erevan, claimed a piece of land as his private property (*molk*). Since it was not included in the petition, it must

spect towards you. Should you desire anything else in the future you have only to ask and it shall be done.

## 262

*Catholicos Ep'rem to the Sardar of Erevan*  
(15 April 1824)<sup>1</sup>

I respectfully received your letter of 26 March and after reading it thanked God for its contents. I have to inform you that during my thirteen years at Etchmiadzin, I realized that all my efforts could not change the unfortunate events happening to me and to the brotherhood, events that are not worth repeating. I think that it is God's Will that I remain here in Haghpat. As the exalted sardar has noted, I am to blame for the sufferings of my Church and hence I shall pay penance with my soul, body, and mind by shedding tears in front of the Lord and His Son. Thanking the gracious prince for his offer to return, I cannot give up my peace and assume such new burdens. Judging by your comments, no matter who is catholicos, he would be honored and respected by your government. Hence, to save my soul, I wish to stay here and do not wish to return to the Holy See at this time. Let all the Armenian people know my wish and let the brotherhood administer the See properly in my absence.

## 263

*Nersēs of Ashtarak to the Sardar of Erevan*  
(15 April 1824)<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter via Aqa Khach'atur, who also verbally delivered your comments. We and many others are aware of your benevolence toward the Holy See, which you state in your letter. We remember how when I and the *locum tenens*, Archbishop Barsegh, were in Russian territory, you welcomed Catholicos Daniēl, who was in Marāḡe to

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have been related verbally by Martiros. 'Abbās Mīrzā, realizing the delicate situation, also did not include the details in writing.

<sup>1</sup> HASE, pp. 31-32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-35.

assume his rightful position; how you aided the various vardapets who had left the See to return there; and how you protected the See and the brotherhood after the death of Daniēl when, for two years the See was without a catholicos, before you invited Ep'rem to assume his high position.

We spread the news of your favors to the entire world and we have not forgotten them, nor will we ever do so. What can we do, however, if, due to the uncertainties of human nature and to changes in character, the Holy See finds itself under such heavy debts? Its riches have disappeared and its old leader has been forced to leave his throne and to seek some way of saving it. Despite these hardships, neither the catholicos nor anyone close to him made any complaints to anyone, lest it damage your name and our special relationship. Notwithstanding this, Ĵa'far Khan, your chancellor, demanded 15,000 *tomāns* from the brotherhood and when denied, entered the cells of our departed brothers and took the 15,000. We did not complain and tried to keep the peace, but after Mīrzā Ĵabbār put the brotherhood to the sword, I could not remain silent any longer, and although most of my brothers chose to accept the injustices [as God's will], I did not. It is common among livestock that one of them continues to graze while the rest are being slaughtered. It is also common that a third of them calmly follow one another to be slaughtered. Believing in the Gospel that states that "Woe be onto him who considers evil good and good deeds evil," I, after the repeated malice against my brothers, took it upon myself to seek the protection of the mighty heir and the benevolent shah. I relied on Our Lord, who states in the Gospel that "whoever tells lies is the son of Satan." I asked the prince to make inquiries of the vardapets who do not reside at Etchmiadzin, those who resided in Russia or the Ottoman Empire, for those living in Etchmiadzin were scared, as was demonstrated by Vardapet Ep'rem, who would not answer any of the questions put to him by the magnanimous heir....

As to your request that I convince the catholicos to return to Etchmiadzin, he is my superior and I am his servant. How can you expect me to tell him what to do? It is obvious to a wise man that if his seat is dirty, he should remain standing until the seat is cleaned. The catholicos has no plans to return at this time and he has written His Highness the prince to this effect....

## 264

*General Vel'iaminov to Prince Sevarsamidze*  
(9 August 1824)<sup>1</sup>

The absence of Catholicos Ep'rem from Etchmiadzin has deprived the sardar of Erevan from some income which he collected from the Holy See, and he is thus trying every means to bring the catholicos back. It is possible that the sardar will try secretly and forcibly to carry out his plan and send men to the Haghpat monastery where the catholicos is at present residing, kidnap him, and take him to Etchmiadzin.

I, therefore, request that Your Excellency take the necessary precautions and assign trusted individuals to guard the catholicos in the Haghpat monastery and to report all suspicious and unknown individuals to you. In addition, issue orders not to allow Persians in large groups to travel in the territories under your jurisdiction. Carry out these instructions without rousing the suspicions of the sardar.

## 265

*General Ermolov to Tsar Alexander*  
(7 September 1824)<sup>2</sup>

The Beglarov family has possessed a number of villages in Karabagh for a very long time.

The heirs of those rulers, having quarreled among themselves, and not trusting the khan [Mahdī-qolī], came to me for arbitration. Wishing to end their disagreements, I asked Archbishop Nersēs, who is respected by them, to find mediators and settle the quarrel. The mediators were ready when, during my absence in St. Petersburg, the khan wrote to Vel'iaminov stating that as khan he had to be involved in the affairs of the inhabitants of his domain. He added that the heirs had the right to divide among themselves their money and movable property. Immovable property, however, as well as the Armenian peasants, could not be divided, since unlike in Georgia, the Armenian peasants of Karabagh were not serfs.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 616), 456.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1320), 863-865.

After the khan fled to Persia the matter was taken to the Karabagh Provincial Court, which demanded that the Beglarovs present all the documents pertaining to their case, so that the court could decide if they indeed had the right to divide the villages and sell the peasants in them. Both the mediators and the court were presented with the following data:

No one can accurately state which immovable properties belonged to the ancestors of the petitioners. There are no documents to indicate that the peasants were serfs or purchased as serfs. Only a few documents regarding the purchase of small plots and tracts, orchards, mills, and other such items were presented.

The last melik to control the entire family domain was Melik Iosif. After his death it passed to his son, Melik Beglar, who was the father of Fireydun, Sam, Bagir (Baqer), and Aqa-Beg. When Melik Beglar died, Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh named as his heir his eldest son, Fireydun. When Fireydun escaped with his brothers to Georgia, taking some Armenian families with them, the khan then named another Armenian family to their title and property.

The emigrants received the village of Bol'nis, on the Turko-Georgian border, from the king of Georgia for their livelihood. Melik Fireydun went to St. Petersburg and received from His Majesty Paul Petrovich on 3 June 1799 a decree which instructed King Giorgi of Kakhet'i and K'art'li to settle them and their followers in Kazakh. Some of his followers, however, either due to dissatisfaction or for other reasons left for other regions, and some even returned to Karabagh.

A few years later, when the khan of Karabagh became a Russian subject, Fireydun Beglarov returned to Karabagh and with the help of the last khan [Mahdī-qolī] was named the melik of the Beglarovs. Only one of his brothers, Sam, returned with him; Bagir stayed in Georgia, where he died, and Aqa-Beg went to India. Sam tried to gain the title of melik but failing that, fled to Persia where he died.

Fireydun left six young sons. The eldest, Hovsēp', was named by the khan as melik of the clan and for some reason convinced the khan to present papers to that effect prepared and sealed by the vizier, Mīrzā Jāmāl.

The document written in 1808 included the following villages: 1) Airkabud, 2) Barandat, 3) Small Signakh, 4) Dishlik, 5) Kaz-ikend...[text missing here], 9) Todan, 10) Makamad, 11) Engi-kend, 12) half of Chardus, 13) half of the Kazian canal, 14) Kara-Bulagh, 15) Kara-Chinar, 16) Tut-Bulagh, 17) Buguluk, 18) Baris, 19) Sneft-Alan, and 20) half of Zeiva.

The peasants in villages number 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 are Armenians, who were brought there by the present melik. Those in number 19 are Tatars who are supervised by their own beg, and those in No. 20 belonged to the khan. None of them belong to the state.

After a few years, the uncle of the melik, Aqa Beg, returned from India and started demanding his inheritance. Soon after, the family of Sam returned from Persia, and his daughter Solty and son Noi also began bringing claims. The children of Bagir Beg, Abov, Alexander, Katevan, Amarnana, and Sofia also brought claims to court.

The court decided that the title and properties belong to the heir of Melik Fireydun. The peasants on these lands, except for those in the village of Kara-Chinar, who were brought as serfs from Georgia by Melik Fireydun, cannot be sold. The Beglarov meliks have the right to collect produce and money from these villages. I agree with the court, for the fathers of the other claimants fled Karabagh. It is also my opinion that the children of Fireydun should not divide the lands among themselves. The melikdoms were always ruled by one individual who was named melik by the khan. The children of Fireydun, Iosif the eldest and the holder of the title melik, Shamir, Ivan, T'eimuraz, and Beglar can remain on the lands in perpetuity, except for Sneft-Alan and Zeiva, which are populated by people from Talish-Gulistan....

## 266

*General Ermolov to Archbishop Nersēs*(29 October 1824)<sup>1</sup>

I am preparing to respond to the letter from the Holy Synod of Etchmiadzin in which they and the sardar are asking you to remit the funds which you have collected for Etchmiadzin.

Frankly I do not approve of funds being collected from Armenians in Russia and sent to Persia. Our losses benefit them and your churches, monasteries, and clergy will suffer and become impoverished. I wish to ask your opinion on this matter prior to my response....<sup>2</sup>

## 267

*Archbishop Nersēs to Catholicos Ep'rem*(17 November 1824)<sup>3</sup>

I am sending You this letter and a copy of my letter to His Excellency Ermolov. God has been generous to You. Ermolov wrote to His Imperial Majesty and to 'Abbās Mīrzā and the result is that you can return without fear to the Etchmiadzin Cathedral as the Catholicos of All Armenians. I have asked our printing press to make copies of the letter so that the Armenian people can learn of this.

The creditors of the Holy See, who were forcibly sent here by Hōseyñ-qolī Khan, together with Ĵa'far Khan Beg, will meet me to-day. I shall relate the contents of the viceroy's letter, in which Ermolov states that the khan of Erevan has no right to consider himself an equal to the Russian viceroy. He is not of the same rank and, in fact, the administrator in chief has twenty such sardars under his command waiting at his beck and call. As far as the catholicos is concerned, Ermolov states that the khan has no authority either, since

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 617), 456.

<sup>2</sup> On 14 November, Nersēs answered that he had already sent more than 75,000 *tomāns* to the sardar and had informed Etchmiadzin of that, *ibid.*, (doc. 618), 457.

<sup>3</sup> MAAC, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 165, doc. 353.



‘Abbās Mīrzā has designated Fath ‘Alī Khan,<sup>1</sup> the *beglerbeg* (governor-general) of the region and has asked him to meet with me, from whom he has learned all the facts. If the heir can guarantee the safety of the catholicos then Ermolov would agree to his return, otherwise he cannot trust the actions of a savage [the khan of Erevan]. This letter was given to the *beglerbeg*, who will depart for the heir’s headquarters tomorrow.

Simon Ivanovich Mazarevich wrote to me in Armenian, and also sent a message via Mīrzā Nariman, to tell me that he has conducted the necessary negotiations. He asked me if he could do anything else. I have prepared copies of the Russian letters, which I will dispatch to him tomorrow. I have asked him to convince the heir of the necessity of guaranteeing Your Holiness’ safety and to let him know that the affairs of the Holy See should be taken away from the despots of Erevan and be taken over personally by the prince. This good advice was given by the most loyal Kurd, Bishop Hovhannēs.<sup>2</sup>

Archbishop Step‘anos, who was to leave today and present himself to Your Holiness, was delayed. He had to conduct a liturgy in the memory of Kaspar of Van, who has left 4,600 silver rubles to the Armenian school in Tiflis and 2,000 silver rubles to our printing house. He will, therefore, depart on the nineteenth of this month. Upon concluding our annual affairs we will also join Your Holiness....

## 268

### *General Ermolov to Count Nessel‘rode*

(9 December 1824)<sup>3</sup>

Following the departure and the relinquishing of his responsibilities by Catholicos Ep‘rem, there have been constant requests from the heir and from the sardar of Erevan for his return to Etchmiadzin. After his

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<sup>1</sup> Fath ‘Alī Khan was the son of Hedāyat Khan of Gilān. He was the *beglerbeg* of Tabriz and seems to have had good relations with the Russians. Both Ermolov and Vel‘iaminov trusted him, and Paskevich, upon occupying Tabriz, made him a member of the governing council of Azerbaijan.

<sup>2</sup> If the above individual was indeed a Kurd, his conversion represents a rare occurrence in the history of the region.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 619), 457-458.

flight from Persia, creditors from all over descended on Etchmiadzin. Despite their dubious claims, the sardar encouraged them. I wrote to him about this on 8 July (communiqué no. 110) and sent a copy to Archbishop Nersēs in Tiflis. Despite my efforts, Ep'rem refuses to return and has requested to live within our realm as a simple monk.

During his visit for discussing border agreements, Faṭḥ Alī Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Tabriz, also spoke of the return of the catholicos....I wrote to Nersēs hoping that he could change the mind of the catholicos, who as I wrote to you on 11 March 1822,<sup>1</sup> has a difficult disposition....It was finally agreed that the catholicos was willing to risk his return if I managed to convince the Persian heir to take Etchmiadzin under his personal protection. I have written to the prince and await his response....I am informing Your Excellency that should the catholicos agree I will not stop his journey to Persia.

## 269

*General Ermolov to the Etchmiadzin Brotherhood*  
(9 December 1824)<sup>2</sup>

I have received the two letters in which you requested that Archbishop Nersēs, the head of the Armenians here, forward to you the money collected by the monk Ep'rem, formerly the holder of the high position of Catholicos of All Armenians, in order that you pay the debts of Etchmiadzin and facilitate his return.

I have to inform you that I cannot oblige you. You are already aware from the letters of Archbishop Nersēs, that funds collected from the Armenians in the Russian Empire cannot be used for the debts of the Etchmiadzin monastery, or more accurately, to satisfy the greed of the ruler of Erevan. I cannot tolerate any action against the interests of His Imperial Majesty and thus would have been displeased with any other action on the part of Nersēs. You have no other choice but to collect the necessary funds from the Armenians living in the domains of Persia.

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<sup>1</sup> The document is dated March 12.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VI/1 (doc. 621), 458-459.

What concerns the former Catholicos Ep'rem is that I will not permit his return to the Araratian See until I receive assurances that the Persian government will guarantee his safety and will treat him according to his high rank.

## 270

*General Ermolov to Hoseyn-qolī Khan*  
(9 December 1824)<sup>1</sup>

Fath Alī Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Tabriz, has undoubtedly informed Your Excellency of my wishes regarding the return of the exalted Catholicos of All Armenians, Ep'rem, to Etchmiadzin.

In addition, in response to your two letters, I have the honor to inform you that I cannot prompt Nersēs to send funds allegedly collected here for Etchmiadzin for the repayment of debts. In fact, had Nersēs wished to do so I would not have approved of it, for I serve the interests of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor.

I am not against the voluntary return of the former catholicos, should the Persian state guarantee his safety and assure me that he will be treated according to his high rank. Should he refuse to return, the Armenians will elect another in his place. It is appropriate to remind you that the election of a new catholicos has to be approved by my Emperor and that the election process is the right of all the Armenian people, not just those who live in Persia.

## 271

*General Ermolov to Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā*  
(9 December 1824)<sup>2</sup>

Hoseyn Khan Sardar, in a number of letters and finally through the *beglerbeg* of Tabriz, has requested the return of Catholicos Ep'rem.

I shall not oppose the return of the former catholicos, should he wish to voluntarily resume the position of the supreme leader of the Araratian See. I wish, however, to frankly explain to Your Highness,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 622), 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 620), 458.

the sole protector of Etchmiadzin, that I shall advise the catholicos that as long as Etchmiadzin is under the control of the sardar of Erevan, he should not return. For he would once again be subjected to ill treatment, as was reported to Your Highness, last year by Nersēs as well as in my dispatch of 15 September of the same year.

I am sure that the shah abhors the behavior of the sardar and I hope Your Highness is of the same opinion. A nation whose religious beliefs are close to mine is suffering, and the ill-treatment of its catholicos by the sardar of Erevan is insulting to my Liege. It is reported that the sardar has stated that if the catholicos presents himself with the decorations awarded to him by the Emperor, he would hang him by the ribbons of those medals!

Thus Your Highness will understand my hesitation and the demand that you guarantee the safety of the catholicos and personally assume control of the Etchmiadzin monastery, taking it away from the savage hands of Hōseyn Khan....

## 272

*Nersēs of Ashtarak to Hovakim Lazarev*(18 January 1825)<sup>1</sup>

I received your letter of 5 December on the way back from Haghpat where I was serving the catholicos in the Holy Cross monastery. On the fourth of this month I forwarded it to His Holiness.

Since you have expressed interest if the administrator in chief [Ermolov] had a meeting with the Persian prince and if I had accompanied him, I will relate to you what transpired. The prince expressed his wish to meet at the border in a small settlement called Aparan. The administrator in chief arrived unexpectedly in my house and told me that he was to meet face-to-face with the prince. I asked him if he could also take our catholicos to that meeting. At that moment news arrived that the prince had changed his mind and had sent Fath̄ Alī Khan, the son of the famous Hedāyat Khan of Gīlān, in his place. He stated, however, that he himself would conclude all negotiations when he meets with Ermolov in the month of May.

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<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Nersēs of Ashtarak Archives, file 166, doc. 190.

As to the Holy See and the catholicos, I am sending you a notebook, with relevant information, in care of our brother Mikayēl Vardapet. As to the decisions of His Excellency [Ermolov], I shall send you, upon receipt, copies of the letters he wrote to the prince, the khan of Erevan, and the brotherhood at Etchmiadzin in response to their requests.

As to the priest Harut'iwn Alamdarean, we, like you, have great hopes for him and are so far very satisfied. Observing his humility, modesty, and diligence, our hopes increase that he will quench the thirst of our flock.

His Holiness the catholicos is in good health. The brotherhood of Etchmiadzin have dispatched Bishop Hovhannēs to Constantinople, about which I have made a summary in the notebook. We have also sent Bishop Step'anos of Karni to Constantinople with notes explaining what has transpired.

What else can I add, my dear benevolent prince of our people, when the affairs of our nation have become playthings in the hands of others, when, be they important or insignificant items, their fate is in the hands of reckless judges....?

## 273

*General Madatov to General Ermolov*

(30 January 1825)<sup>1</sup>

Many of the Greeks and Armenians who have left Turkey without obtaining any papers have asked Lt. Col. Shvetsov<sup>2</sup> to give them Russian passports so that they may travel in the cities of Georgia.

Having Your Excellency's order of 21 August 1823, in which you state that Persians without travel documents who appear in our provinces should be sent back, I am in a quandary about whether I should apply the rule to the aforementioned Greeks and Armenians (110 of them are now in Shushi) from Turkey, or if I should deal with them in a different fashion.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 2/1, file 8897, f. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Vasil'evich Shvetsov was commandant of Shushi.

## 274

*General Sevarsamidze to General Vel'iaminov*(21 September 1825)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenians of Dilijan, hearing that troops have gathered in Erevan and Darachichak, scattered in various directions. I immediately sent people who assured them not to fear the Persians and to return. I have to report to Your Excellency that in such border regions, where there are no Russian troops stationed, Armenians cannot be without Tatars, who have all the information, even though we consider the Tatars unreliable and untrustworthy. All our information from outside [Turkey and Persia] also comes from the Tatars. Armenians may be more loyal and more useful in peacetime, but they are useless in time of war and in border regions. Tatars, however, can always be sent to gather information, if it means death, as it has happened frequently in my post here.<sup>2</sup>

## 275

*Nersēs of Ashtarak's Appeal to the Armenian People*(29 July 1826)<sup>3</sup>

To the Armenian people, who are always loyal to the Christ-loving Russian State and who reside in the cities and villages of the Tiflis, Elisavetpol', Karabagh, Nukha, Shemakha, Baku, and Derbent districts, Christ's blessing be upon you.

By the sacred duty placed on me by God and as is already known to you by our statements, you have become aware that for centuries our nation has been under foreign domination and has only survived thanks to the grace of God and due to our unshakable faith....

You are aware of the goals of the great Russian state, which is not for its own gain, but rather to protect our faith and Church. This has been amply demonstrated in the monasteries and churches of Georgia,

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1372), 892.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting how little information there is here from Armenians, compared to the past documents. Erevan Armenians seem to have changed their view of the Persians. The Georgian dislike of the Armenians is also evident here.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA, record group 880 file 5, folder, 18, ff. 2-7.

which have been under the protection of Russia. You are also aware that the Russian envoy went to Persia, bearing gifts and hoping to forestall war. The entire world tried to maintain the peace, but the Persians ignored these efforts, and attacked the Russian troops and the Armenian nation under its protection.....

The Russian might, as before, is ready to defend the Christians and their Church against the Persians. It shall rid us from those who have taken our peace of mind and even the lives of our forefathers....

The Persians once put the citizens of Tiflis to the sword and enslaved them. They destroyed property and took our flocks. Although Russia, at that time, did not have the responsibility for our protection, they did come to our aid. Russia, before God and the world, has promised to defend us and our Christian Church. Do you think that they will abandon us? Your trust will be rewarded by benevolent Imperial decrees. Let us remember God's plan when [the Lord said to Moses], "*Go to Pharaoh; for I have hardened his heart and the heart of his officials, in order that I may show these signs of mine among them,*"<sup>1</sup>

We should remember that some of our people are under Ottoman and Persian rule, where, despite their obedience, they suffer insults and misery. Alas, their reward is [His master said to him], "*Well done, good and trustworthy slave.*"<sup>2</sup>

The New Testament has told us "*the one who endures to the end will be saved.*"<sup>3</sup> As your priest and a pastor of our Holy Church it is my duty to repeat the words of Christ....Remember also the words of Christ in the gospel regarding the enemies of the king, "*as for these enemies of mine who did not want me to be king over them--bring them here and slaughter them in my presence.*"<sup>4</sup>

Remember the deeds of your fathers; you are their sons, their blood flows in your veins. Like your ancestors, trust God, follow your faith, and look to the one who is crowned by God--the Russian Emperor. Doubt will bring you bitterness, the fruits of betrayal do not last. Like

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<sup>1</sup> *Exodus*, 10: 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Matthew*, 25: 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 24: 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Luke*, 19: 27.

your fathers, you shall profit from believing in the Christ-loving Monarch and God's Church.

Do not fear the clamor of the Persians--their entire strength lies in noise and not in their strong state. Just as noise evaporates into thin air within minutes, so will their clamor and thunder. Be brave, their sudden attack on unarmed and peaceful people will not be able to overcome the might of the armies of His Imperial Highness, the Russian Monarch. Remain steadfast in your loyalty and sustain the fame of your ancestors. Remember King Solomon's advice, "*A good name is to be chosen rather than great riches, [and favor is better than silver or gold].*"<sup>1</sup>

Judas Maccabaeus said the following words to the people of Israel, "*Far be it from us to do such a thing as to flee from them. If our time has come, let us die bravely for our kindred, and leave no cause to question our honor.*"<sup>2</sup> I repeat those sentiments and ask you to encourage each other with the following words, "We shall die bravely, will not betray our faith, and we shall garner the praise showered on our ancestors. Believe me when I say that God will defeat our enemies and that the Persians will fall to the Russian sword. Do not be fooled by temporary victories or by the promises of the Persians and those whom they have swiftly convinced. Remember the sacred text which says, "*One who trusts others too quickly has a shallow mind, and one who sins does wrong to oneself.*"<sup>3</sup>

Thus close your ears and mind to the sweet words of our enemies. Struggle against it by joining the Russian army or through other means. If need be, do not spare your last drop of blood. God shall protect you from all harm and the Russian emperor will crown you with eternal glory....

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<sup>1</sup> Proverbs, 22: 1.

<sup>2</sup> Maccabees I, 9:10.

<sup>3</sup> Sirach, 19:4.



## 276

*From the Report of General Madatov to General Ermolov*  
(22 September 1826)<sup>1</sup>

I am writing about the campaign in the Karabagh province, about which I am still gathering information. Following our victories in Shamkhor and Elisavetpol', 'Abbās Mīrzā retreated hastily to aid his son Moḥa-mad Mīrzā. He ended the siege of Shushi<sup>2</sup> and rushed across the Arax. He asked Mahdī-qolī [khan of Karabagh who had joined the Persians] to take 600 of the Shahsevan and to drive all the flocks and herds from Karabagh to Persia. The population of Shushi out of their loyalty to me, attacked the remaining Persians and drove them across the Arax.

I shall now establish a provincial court where we shall judge those begs who betrayed us. The flocks and harvests that they left behind--some 3,000 *chetverts* of wheat in Ag-Oghlan alone--will be confiscated. I shall create a new administrative apparatus from the various begs from the *maḥals*. The majority of them, however, will be Armenians, for most of the Muslim begs were traitors. Some have been arrested by Colonel Reutt',<sup>3</sup> others who greeted 'Abbās Mīrzā, treacherously killed our troops, and later fought against us, are for the moment at liberty. The same begs who collaborated with the enemy in burning my villages, my homes, and even destroying the graves of my parents, have now appeared before me to swear eternal loyalty to Russia. I have not let my anger show and have treated them well until I bring order to the province. I shall then deal with those who spilled Russian and Armenian blood and will ask Your Excellency to permit me to rid the province of the enemies of Russia and to bring peace and tranquillity to Karabagh....

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1326) 867, written in the camp by the river Kendalan.

<sup>2</sup> Defended by the Armenians and Russians.

<sup>3</sup> Iosif Antonovich Reutt' (Reutte), one of the commanders of the fortress of Shushi during the Second Russo-Persian War.

## 277

*General Madatov to General Ermolov*(24 September 1826)<sup>1</sup>

This fall, at ploughing time, the Armenians of Shushi, who had defended the fortress, came to me and complained that they had no oxen and that all their belongings had been looted by the enemy or had been taken by Colonel Reutt' to feed the troops in the fortress. They ask that the treasury pay them for the cattle taken by Reutt'--for which they have receipts signed by him-- so that they can purchase animals for their farming needs....I hope that Your Excellency will permit funds from the provincial court to be given to those who have signed receipts and that you will not abandon the people who lost everything for their loyalty and their aid on behalf of Russian troops....<sup>2</sup>

## 278

*Melkisedēk Ghamazean to Khach'atur Lazarev*(22 November 1826)<sup>3</sup>

Esteemed Prince, Gracious Lord!

I await Your Excellency's response to my letter.

Our borders are now quiet, and there is no evidence of the Persian army on either side of the Arax River.

The viceroy [sic] and his troops have gone to Sheki and Shirvan, where they have punished the infidel rebels and have brought them under Russian rule. Other evildoers shall share the same fate..

The Holy See of Etchmiadzin is empty. The famed bishops Ep'rem and Step'anos are under arrest in Erevan at the house of Salem Beg.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 1327) 868.

<sup>2</sup> Madatov's wish did not come true, for on 26 November, Baron Diebitsch (Dibich), the chief of the Russian army, wrote to Ermolov that it would be wrong to punish the Muslim begs. It would be better if they were reinstated in their positions and sent their sons as collateral for their behavior. The young men would be educated in Russia and would eventually assimilate, TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 6219, f. 1.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 880/5, file 17, f.70.

Both the See and its peasants have been totally robbed by the khan,<sup>1</sup> who occupies at Etchmiadzin. All other monks are scattered in the plain and are in a sorry state. All church doors are locked, save the doors of Ghazarapat.

There are rumors that Armenian merchants from Transcaucasia, who were in Tabriz, have been arrested by the Persians.

Please excuse my letters to you. In all probability there will be a major war this spring and the Persian state will be totally crushed.

## 279

*General Ermolov to Archbishop Nersēs*(2 December 1826)<sup>2</sup>

When Karabagh was attacked and its only hope was the Armenians, Archbishop Sargis not only became a traitor by joining 'Abbās Mīrzā, but tried to turn the Armenians in Shushi against us by coming to the walls of the fortress and asking them to open the gates to the Persians. Cross in hand he stayed at the enemy camp, blessing their barbarous acts against those prisoners who fell into their hands....

Because of his rank I have ordered that he, who is now referred to as *Mullah Sargis*, be escorted to Tiflis for you to punish and make an example of. I have to inform you that Sargis's behavior influenced some Armenians to join the mullahs. Although my soul is in pain, your example of loyalty makes the events in Karabagh bearable....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The khan referred to is Ḥasan Khan, the brother of the sardar, who is often, mistakenly referred to as the ruler of Erevan.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VI/1 (doc. 626), 464.

<sup>3</sup> On 3 December, Ermolov wrote to Madatov to send Sargis to Nersēs under heavy guard but with respect due his rank, *ibid.*, (doc. 827), 464. On 14 June, Nersēs wrote to Paskevich that Sargis was fooled by Mahdī-qolī Khan and was told that the Russians were evacuating Karabagh. Since there were some 1,500 Armenians in Shushi, Sargis asked 'Abbās Mīrzā to protect them. He also managed to save sixty Armenian prisoners from death. His efforts were misinterpreted by his enemies, added Nersēs, and he should be permitted to return to Karabagh. Paskevich approved this petition, *ibid.*, VII (doc. 204), 251-252.

## 280

*General Ermolov to Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
(15 February 1827)<sup>1</sup>

During my visit to the Shirvan province, which is in your diocese, I was pleased to hear from everyone that during the revolt--when lawlessness and death abounded--your words from the altar kept your people loyal to the law and the state. Now that order has been restored and our administration is, once again, in charge, I, as the administrator in chief of the region, have the pleasure to inform Your Grace that your efforts shall be remembered and rewarded....

## 281

*General Ermolov to Tsar Nicholas I*  
(3 March 1827)<sup>2</sup>

The commander of the 42nd Jäger group, Colonel Reutt', has informed me that on 23 February a plundering group of some three hundred [Muslims] attacked the Armenian village of Garav. Our Armenians repulsed them and lost only one flock of sheep. Four Armenians were killed and two were wounded. That same group later attacked the village of Ganzuri, where they were also beaten and forced to flee taking some horses and cattle. The invaders suffered losses in both encounters....

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, VI/1 (doc. 628), 464.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 8218/1 f. 142.

## VII (March 1827-July 1831)

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### *From the Diary of General Paskevich*<sup>1</sup> (17-20 March 1827)<sup>2</sup>

An Armenian from Kara-Kilisa who was sent to carry a message to the sardar of Erevan reported to Colonel Prince Sevarsamidze that most of the inhabitants of the Erevan khanate have been taken to the banks of the Arax and shall be forced across into Persia the moment our troops move on the khanate. All provisions, as well as houses, are to be set afire.

All the elders of the Armenian villages, the merchants of Erevan, and some of the Tatar elders who are dissatisfied with Persian rule are of the opinion that the Russians will succeed in taking Erevan, if they attack from Karabagh and take Nakhichevan first. After that, the Russian army can move from Pambak and Shuragol to Erevan. Otherwise the Persians shall move all the Armenians across the Arax, as they did in Shah 'Abbās's time, and the Russians will arrive to an empty Erevan....

An inhabitant of Erevan, Kalantar Barsegh, on 1 March 1827 sent a letter to Archbishop Nersēs in which he stated that if the Russia troops attack Erevan now, all the Armenians will be taken to Persia....It would be best not to attack Erevan until 20 September. Prior to that a small detachment should be sent to Nakhichevan. The main army can move from Gumri to Erevan and then to Tabriz....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich, administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1827 to 1831. He defeated the Persians in the Second Russo-Persian War and the Turks in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4317, ff. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> The diary of the commander of the Independent Caucasian Corps mentions that they captured Etchmiadzin in mid-April and that Archbishop Nersēs, who had accom-

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*General Paskevich to General Diebitsch*<sup>1</sup>(11 May 1827)<sup>2</sup>

I request that you approve the formation of an Armenian militia group, about which I have already written to the military governor of Tiflis. A similar group from the Georgians and a cavalry group from the Tatars is also desired. We have had great success in recruiting Armenians. Their number has increased from twenty to one hundred volunteers....<sup>3</sup>

## 284

*General Paskevich to General Diebitsch*(30 May 1827)<sup>4</sup>

I have been informed that two Armenians from Pambak, Martiros Vekilev, originally from Erzerum, and Grigorii Ter-Kalantarov, from Kara-Kilisa, have performed valuable services for the government. Martiros Vekilev, who has long served us, was in the service of Colonel Baron Fredericks in 1826 in Gumri, where he demonstrated his bravery on numerous occasions. Later he was in command of the Armenian cavalry unit in Kara-Kilisa and Ĵalāl-oĝlī (Jelal-oglu), where he fought the enemy in the group commanded by Major General

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panied the Russian troops, issued a proclamation to his supporters in Erevan and Nakhichevan to aid the Russian effort. He encouraged the monks and other Armenians of Etchmiadzin to cast off their fear of the Persians and to cooperate with the Russians. He also tried to recruit the Karapapakh tribe, who lived around the south shore of Lake Sevan, to the Russian side, *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4312, f. 79, 82.

<sup>1</sup> Johann Karl Diebitsch was chief quartermaster of the Russian armies and supervised the Russian campaigns in Transcaucasia from 1827 to 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4336, f. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Diebitsch approved the request on 25 May, but noted that the militia should be disbanded after the war. On 29 May, Paskevich wrote to Diebitsch thanking him for His Majesty's approval of such a unit and reported that there were now 129 Armenian volunteers. He asked for arms and ammunition to be given to them from the Tiflis arsenal, *ibid.*, f. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, file 6218/2, f. 19.

Davydov.<sup>1</sup> He later served General Benkendorf<sup>2</sup> as an interpreter in talks with the enemy and was present at the defeat of Hasan Khan in Sardārabad.

On 21 May, he was a member of the expeditionary force led by Verbitskii in Kırk-Bulagh, where he convinced ninety Persians to surrender and gained the admiration of the Cossacks.

Grigorii Ter-Kalantarov has also served us in various ways. Last year when the enemy attacked the Mirag Bridge, he was dispatched by Colonel Sevarsamidze to the sardar to ask about the unprovoked attack of the Persians. He was grabbed by the Persian guards and received three wounds. He was then taken to Erevan and held for four and a half months. He was released after paying a ransom to the sardar. He is a valuable scout.

In consideration for the services performed by these Armenians I have the honor to request that they be promoted: Martiros Vekilev to the rank of ensign and Grigorii Ter-Kalantarov to the fourteenth military rank.<sup>3</sup>

285

*General Sipiagin<sup>4</sup> to General Diebitsch*  
(2 June 1827)<sup>5</sup>

The Second Armenian Militia Unit has been organized under my supervision in Tiflis. Some one hundred men are armed and ready to

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<sup>1</sup> Denis Davydov was a hero of the Napoleonic wars, who later served in the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to 1812, General Konstantin Khristoforovich Benkendorf II, who was also a man of letters, served as a diplomat in Berlin and Naples. In 1812 he participated in the war against Napoleon. From 1820 to 1826 he was the Russian envoy in Württemberg and Baden. At the start of the Second Russo-Persian War he returned to the military and was in charge of the attack on Erevan. Following the conquest of Erevan he was named chief of gendarmes and was transferred to the Balkans, where he participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. He died in the Balkans at the end of 1828.

<sup>3</sup> The XIV rank was that of guidon bearer. Their promotions were confirmed on 8 July.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Sipiagin served in the Napoleonic wars and was later transferred to the Caucasus.

<sup>5</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, File 4336, f. 9.

march. They have been included in the Kherson Grenadiers under the command of Second Lieutenant Akimov and will join the army at Erevan.<sup>1</sup>

## 286

*General Krasovskii<sup>2</sup> to General Paskevich*(5-15 August 1827)<sup>3</sup>

I received a letter from Archbishop Nersēs, from Etchmiadzin, that Armenians from Bayazid sent a message that the shah has ordered an attack on Etchmiadzin on the fourth or fifth of August....

....[While camped at the barrier of Ĵangalī] news arrived from our outpost that cannon shots were heard from the direction of Etchmiadzin. I was ready in five minutes and set out with three battalions, four guns, and two hundred Cossacks toward Etchmiadzin. Eight *versts* from the monastery I met the unit of Major Dreshern, who informed me that the enemy, some six *versts* ahead, had been thrown back toward Sardārābād. I pushed on to the village of Ashtarak and was told that the enemy had retreated swiftly and was now some fifteen *versts* away from us. Since it was useless to follow them, I returned to my camp. The Crimean Battalion, together with 25 of the 65 members of the second Armenian militia group, gave chase to the enemy and performed well....

....A relative of Archbishop Nersēs, Petros Markarov, who was sent to Erevan, reports that 'Abbās Mīrzā and his troops have approached the city....The head of the Armenians of Erevan, Melik Sahak, secretly

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<sup>1</sup> Another Armenian militia unit composed of 117 men was organized in Tiflis and on 15 May was sent to Etchmiadzin as reinforcements; see the report of General Sukhtelen, another veteran of the Napoleonic wars who came to the Caucasus, *ibid.*, f. 8. The second Armenian militia unit, at the request of Archbishop Nersēs, was also stationed at Etchmiadzin, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/3, file 10, f. 5. Armenians continued to play an important role during the war as scouts. An Armenian from Koi, for example, informed Nersēs of 'Abbās Mīrzā's movements on the banks of the Arax and of his anger at both Hōseyn Khan and Ḥasan Khan of Erevan, *ibid.*, ff. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Afanasii Krasovskii was another veteran of the Napoleonic wars who was sent to the Caucasus. After the conquest of Erevan he was, temporarily, the military commander of that city.

<sup>3</sup> Condensed from various reports which were sent by Sipiagin and others to Krasovskii, who in turn forwarded them to Paskevich, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/3, file 10, ff. 36-39, 49, 60-63, 66-67, 69-70.



told him that 'Abbās Mīrzā has a force of about 20,000, which consisted of 7,000 infantry, a battalion of Russian fugitives, 13,000 cavalry and 24 cannons....He adds that 'Abbās Mīrzā plans to attack Etchmiadzin on the sixth or seventh of the month....Nersēs has sent another Armenian, Gevork Arutiunov, to Erevan for more information.

Archbishop Nersēs reports on the sixth that news has arrived that a son of the shah, together with Prince Alexander and other khans with some 15,000 troops have gathered in the vicinity of Sardārābād. The archbishop thinks that the forces outside Erevan will join the latter and together shall march on Etchmiadzin. He is waiting for confirmation from Gevork Arutiunov.

Gevork Arutiunov has returned and reports that it was not 'Abbās Mīrzā, but another son of the shah, 'Alī Naqī Mīrzā, who, with some 25,000 troops and Prince Alexander, has moved towards Etchmiadzin via Sardārābād. Some reports claim that the Persians plan to attack my camp at Ĵangalī, others state that they plan to attack Etchmiadzin and from there push into our domain [Georgia]. The inhabitants of Ashtarak have reported that the Persians have camped by the Kara-su river and that numerous troops from Sardārābād has joined them....Having received all the above information I have prepared my forces in Ĵangalī to march in whatever direction is necessary....

A Tatar from Nakhichevan has confirmed [9 August] that the enemy has concentrated a large force in this region. I am thus forced to make plans to defend both Etchmiadzin and Georgia. I have stationed artillery and troops in various points, such as Ĵalāl-oĝlī, Bezabdal, and Sudaghen. I have also ordered the military governor of Tiflis to prepare the Gumri battalion and to have provisions and reinforcements ready to assist us in case of a large-scale Persian attack....

On the tenth of this month some 2,000 Persian cavalry [Kurds] attacked from Aparan-su and were met by 200 Cossacks led by Lt. Colonel Krasovskii II. I sent Armenian and Georgian militia units to his aid. They repulsed the enemy, who suffered losses including the death of the Kurdish commander 'Alī Ebrāhīm ('Isā Aqa-oĝlī)....

On the eleventh of this month the enemy did not show himself anywhere, but having heard reports of Persian advances, I moved my camp to Ashtarak. News had reached me that 'Abbās Mīrzā, Naqī

Khan, Prince Alexander, and their full forces were on their way to lift the siege of Erevan. I shall move with my forces to meet them....

On the thirteenth of this month, the enemy moved in full force and attacked our observation posts, but was beaten back by our Cossacks. I did not anticipate, however, that the enemy would head toward Etchmiadzin from Alagoz. I rushed to meet the attackers and we managed, after some losses, to hold them at Alagoz....

On the thirteenth and fourteenth of this month news arrived that 'Abbās Mīrzā, the sardar of Erevan, Prince Alexander, Major Samson, Naqī Khan, and Sohrāb Khan with a large army composed of more than 5,000 cavalry, a battalion of Russian fugitives, more than 6,000 infantry --including musketeers from Mazandaran--six cannons, and one mortar have reached Oshakan, south of Ashtarak on the banks of the Aparan-chay. The cavalry unit began to assemble at the foot of Mt. Alagoz, facing my camp. They are trying to cut us off from General Sipiagin's forces in Ĵalāl-oĝlī....

## 287

### *General Sipiagin to General Diebitsch*

(21 August 1827)<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to report to Your Excellency that the third Armenian militia group formed here has departed from Tiflis on 21 August, under the command of Captain Beburov, and should reach Erevan with General Krasovskii's troops on 4 September. Their route of 254 versts will take them approximately twelve days. The route is as follows: Tiflis to Kody, to Big Shulaver across the Khram River, Somis, Aksebuyuk, Ĵalāl-oĝlī, Gerger, Hamamlu, Bash-Aparan, Eghvard, Etchmiadzin, Erevan.

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4336, f. 14. The report arrived on 6 September. The distance between each station is in *ibid.*, f. 15. Sipiagin reported to Paskevich that the Armenian units had arrived on the 26th and were sent on to Erevan, with additional troops from Ĵalāl-oĝlī under Colonel Gurki, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/3, file 10, f. 124.

## 288

*General Paskevich to Tsar Nicholas*  
(26 August 1827)<sup>1</sup>

I have just received an envelope that contains the reports of General Krasovskii from 18, 19, and 24 August....Instead of waiting for artillery and reinforcements, Krasovskii, with only four battalions, attacked the enemy in an attempt to reach Etchmiadzin....The road was difficult and provisions scarce and the enemy cavalry and infantry units, as well as artillery, attacked Krasovskii. He managed to beat them off and reach Etchmiadzin, where he is surrounded, awaiting relief from me. He has only a few days' provisions and ammunition....His bravery is beyond question, but it would have been better if he had not left almost 3,500 troops behind in Ĵangalī. He would have had a better chance of fighting 'Abbās Mīrzā's army....Having heard of his present dire situation, I have dispatched today [17 August] reinforcements, provisions, and ammunition to Etchmiadzin....<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/3, file 10, ff. 78-80.

<sup>2</sup> John Baddeley, citing the somewhat exaggerated account of the Russian military historian Potto (in *Kavkazskaia voina*, see bibliography) as well as the account in Krasovskii's diary [*TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4313, ff. 15-22], has the following colorful description of the Battle of Ashtarak: "...a month later [August], the Persians under Abbas Mirza himself suddenly made their appearance before Etchmiadzin in overwhelming force. Abbas Mirza's plan was, taking advantage of Paskevitch's inactivity, to capture the monastery and march by the way of Goumri on Tiflis, devastate that capital, and return through Karabagh....Etchmiadzin, with its priceless relics, its band of monks headed by Narses V. [the future Catholicos Nersēs V, who was still Archbishop Nersēs at this time], and its small Russian garrison, was now in imminent danger. To hold out many days was clearly impossible; urgent appeals therefore were sent to Krasovsky; and that general, whose courage at least was beyond all question, collecting a force of 1800 infantry, 500 cavalry, and 12 guns, set out from Djengoulee on the 16th August. The distance to Etchmiadzin was but 35 versts (23½ miles, but the road lay over rugged mountains and through narrow defiles; the heat was terrible, and 30,000 Persians barred the way. The story of the fight, known as the battle of Ashtarak (or Oushakan), is one of the most stirring in the annals of Caucasian warfare. Officers and men fought on and on with stubborn bravery--many with unsurpassed heroism--and none more than Krasovsky himself, who charged and fought hand to hand here, there, and everywhere, as danger threatened now one group, now another of the broken straggling line. He was wounded in the arm by a bursting shell; two horses were killed under him; the annihilation of his whole force seemed inevitable. Etchmiadzin must then fall, and Georgia could not escape at least a terrible devasta-

**General Krasovskii to General Paskevich**  
(8 September 1827)<sup>1</sup>

1) On the 16 August last I received news that the enemy was attacking Etchmiadzin, using everything in its power, including artillery, to capture it. I had only five battalions with me; for I had sent one battalion with two guns to guard the transport of provisions to Ĵalāl-oĝlī, two companies with one gun to guard the post at Pambak, two companies with one gun to escort General Sipiagin who had left my camp for Ĵalāl-oĝlī on the 15th, and I had left one battalion with five guns at Etchmiadzin.

I had to decide either to give up the strategic location of Etchmiadzin to the enemy or to relieve it.

Time was running out and the smallest hesitation could have had dire consequences. The enemy would have taken the monastery and we would have lost our initiative.

My decision was, as always, based on my wish to serve. I, therefore, left one battalion in the stronghold of Ĵangalī, and sallied out with ten days' provisions--60 *chetverts*<sup>2</sup> of flour and 20 *chetverts* of meat--four battalions, twelve guns, and five hundred Cossacks, a total of three thousand men, ignoring the fact that the enemy had ten times the number of troops and guns in front of me.

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tion. But inspired by their heroic commander the Russians fought on, and eventually on the 17th cut their way through--all that was left of them. There was a panic at the last moment, and it was a disorderly rabble that rushed madly to the sheltering walls of the monastery, where the venerable patriarch [archbishop] throughout the fight had held aloft the Roman spear stained with the blood of Christ, prying to the God of Victories. But the [Armenian and Russian] garrison sallied out; the Persians, losing heart, retired to Azerbaijan; and Etchmiadzin was saved, though at a heavy cost. Of the little army, 2300 strong, that had started from Djengoulee the day before, less than half remained. Twenty-four officers and 1130 men had fallen [a total of 1131 according to Krasovskii's diary]; by heroic efforts the guns were saved; but all impedimenta had been abandoned. The Persian loss was no more than 400." In *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (New York, 1969), pp. 166-168. Krasovskii's official report to Paskevich puts the Russian force at 3,000 and the Persian losses as being three times the number of Russian dead; see next document.

<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 548/3, file 10, ff. 160-162.

<sup>2</sup> Dry measure, 210 liters, liquid measure, 3 liters.

I met the enemy at Oshakan and attacked immediately. I reached and saved it, but suffered losses, considering the strength of the enemy and the terrain. It was only my repeated attack on his positions that opened our way to the monastery....

2) On the 17th of August, Etchmiadzin had 87 *chetverts* of flour, 161 quarters of dried bread, and 196 *chetverts* of wheat.

3) Etchmiadzin was surrounded by so many gun emplacements that I did not have the time nor the means to destroy them.

4) I have already reported, and once more wish to bring to Your Excellency's attention, that every officer and soldier displayed great courage, and the enemy losses were three times larger [than ours]....

5) I can assure Your Excellency that the aforementioned men displayed the soul and unique qualities of Russian soldiers.

In conclusion, I have the honor to inform you that the battle on the 17th was so far the bloodiest encounter with the Persians. Realizing the superiority of our forces and the imminent fall of Erevan, 'Abbās Mīrzā and his commanders had gathered a large force which, without fear, would fall on our bayonets or would blindly charge our batteries. The field was covered with corpses, but they kept on coming, something one did not expect from the Persians. The battle started at 7 in the morning and did not stop until 4 in the afternoon. Only Russians could have stood such fierce and determined Persian attacks, which sought to save their provinces with one decisive blow. We did manage, without a drop of water, to resist their assaults and to save the day despite their superior numbers and their advantageous position....<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A year later Nersēs of Ashtarak wrote a letter to Aqa Bezhan Hovhanean, an Armenian magnate in Russia, in which he described the dangerous situation at Etchmiadzin, with only 700 soldiers and five guns surrounded by Persians who had set their camps at Ashtarak, Oshakan, and various other villages around the monastery. He adds that out of a force of some 3,000 troops under Krasovskii, only 700 or 800 survived, *MAAC*, Nersēs of Ashtarak group, file 166, doc. 811.

## 290

*General Paskevich to General Krasovskii*(24 September 1827)<sup>1</sup>

It is my wish that you permit the temporary commander of Sardārābād, Colonel Khomutov, to go out and to recruit Armenian families chiefly from across the Arax. He is to use the Armenian militia unit for this purpose.

There are two light fieldguns at Sardārābād. There are to remain in the fortress and under no circumstances should they be given to the Armenian Militia Unit. They should always be under the control of at least one company of Russian troops.

## 291

*General Paskevich's Notes on Armenian Battalions*(1827)<sup>2</sup>

- 1) The battalion will consist solely of Armenian volunteers.
- 2) The volunteers shall be no younger than 18 and no older than 30. However, since this cannot be absolutely enforced, men who will be able to march would be acceptable.
- 3) The volunteers, their wives and children, shall be free from all taxes and services for the duration of their service.
- 4) They are to serve for as long as the war with Persia continues. Once concluded, they are free to return to their homes or to join the local military units.
- 5) The army articles of Peter the Great shall be read to them and they shall be subject to punishment or reward--the same as everyone else--depending on their rank.
- 6) They shall take an oath of allegiance and service.
- 7) Funds from the treasury, in the category of extraordinary sums for the war with Persia, shall be used to house and feed the volunteers of this battalion.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 548/3, file 85, f. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The notes were probably written in October, TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4336, ff. 2-5.

- 8) The first such battalion will be formed by Second Lieutenant Sumbatov, of the Kherson Grenadiers. He has already begun the task of forming the battalion and has received 100 rubles for expenses.
- 9) The volunteers should be kept in camp until they are ready to move to Erevan with the rest of the troops.
- 10) The brother of the priest in Shamshadil has gone there to recruit Armenian volunteers. Similar Armenian individuals have been sent to Kazakh and Nukha. Upon arrival the volunteers are to be immediately formed into companies.
- 11) The company units are to have their own militia commanders, who will be given instructions on how to select volunteers. They are to be given enough funds by Lieutenant Sumbatov to carry out their duties.
- 12) Each battalion shall have 1 staff officer, 2 captains, 2 staff captains, 4 lieutenants, 4 sub-lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 paymaster, 1 adjutant, 4 buglers, 4 drummers, 80 noncommissioned officers, 800 privates, and 40 noncombatants.
- 13) The officers shall be appointed by the corps commander.
- 14) The officers upon bravery shall be decorated with first-grade medals.
- 15) The staff officer or captain of each battalion has to be an Armenian.
- 16) Each battalion shall have a [Armenian] priest and a medic.
- 17) Each soldier shall receive a gun with a bayonet, a belt with 30 cartridges, and 10 flints.
- 18) Each battalion shall be divided into eight units of 100 and each unit into groups of 10.
- 19) Each volunteer shall have his own personal dagger and a sack to carry four days' worth of provisions.
- 20) Noncommissioned officers shall have sabers instead of daggers.
- 21) Officers shall have two pistols and a saber.
- 22) Uniforms: Jackets of rough green cloth with turned sleeves, pants of the same rough dark material, Georgian-style caps, and a felt cloak.
- 23) Everyone shall receive a salary appropriate to his rank.
- 24) In addition, the privates shall receive 10 rubles a year. Noncommissioned officers shall receive 15 rubles to purchase their uniforms until they are reimbursed by the state treasury.
- 25) Weapons should be requested from the Tiflis arsenal, from among those taken from the Persian soldiers.

- 26) Tents should be provided initially from among those used by the Georgian troops.
- 27) Drummers and buglers should be recruited from the regiments.
- 28) Provisions are the same as for all troops.
- 29) At the first opportunity they should be given ration books, as well as a ten day supply of provisions.
- 30) Sums for the daily food of the troops will cease the moment the ration books and provisions are given.
- 31) The sick shall have the use of military hospitals.
- 32) Every ten men shall have a work horse, a tent, and 2 *pud* and 25 pounds of biscuits. Every twenty shall have a noncombatant, every fifty an ax and a spade, and every 100 shall set up a co-op.
- 33) Horses are to be provided by Second Lieutenant Krakovskii from among those captured from the enemy.
- 34) The soldiers must be trained in the rudimentary knowledge of the Jäger unit and taught how to form groups and platoons, how to form columns for attack, and how to form defensive squares. They have to learn to stand guard, to obey all orders of their commanders and not to go against regulations. All commands must be given in Armenian.

## 292

*General Paskevich's Regulations on Governing Erevan Province*  
(6 October 1827)<sup>1</sup>

- 1) A temporary government composed of General Krasovskii, Archbishop Nersēs, and the commandant of the Erevan fortress, Lieutenant Colonel Borodin', is in charge of the administration of the Erevan Province.
- 2) The main duties of the administration are to maintain peace and safeguard the province from enemy attacks and internal disorder.
- 3) Taxes paid by the inhabitants to the former government, as well as all state property, have to be recorded and revert to benefit our state.
- 4) Rations for the troops have to be gathered from the local population. However, those returning to their homes should not be included. We should strive not to collect more than the previous government.

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 432), 480-481.



- 5) The citizens should be protected under the law, but, if necessary, use the force of arms, which should also be used to repulse the enemy.
- 6) Extend Russian rule as much as possible to those across the Arax and to those who wish to be ruled by us.
- 7) The same method and agreement used with Moḥammad Ĵa'far Khan of the Ayrumlu tribe should be used to entice them.
- 8) Establish a local militia of men who have fought before, especially the Armenians.
- 9) Examine the rights of elders and their clans.
- 10) Safeguard the interests of those who suffered because of their loyalty to Russia.
- 11) Safeguard our borders against the spread of plague and other diseases from Turkey.
- 12) Gradually supply the fortresses of Erevan and Sardārābād with the necessities needed for their garrisons and inhabitants.
- 13) Be aware of the fact that troops are being readied in the Turkish pashaliks on the orders of the Porte.
- 14) Resume trade relations, especially with Georgia.
- 15) Observe carefully the behavior of the Tatar nomads and use military force against those who plot or act against our interests.
- 16) Assure the safety of the Aparan-Dilijan road to Georgia.
- 17) Sell at a good price the surplus cotton in Erevan and Sardārābād. Try to assist those who produce and weave the cotton and regulate the state's share of the cotton produced.
- 18) Organize, without burdening the people, the collection of the state's share from the salt mines of Kulb and encourage the salt trade with Georgia.
- 19) The 'Abbāsābād fortress is separated from Shushi by mountains. Try to supply 'Abbāsābād from Erevan, either using local transport made available as part of tax payments, or renting it.

## 293

*General Diebitsch to General Paskevich*(13 November 1827)<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a copy of His Majesty's decree to the Holy Synod, regarding the conversion of the main mosque of Erevan into a Russian Orthodox church of the Holy Virgin. The minister of the Court shall soon send the sacristy and other necessary items for the priests, deacons, and church administrators....<sup>2</sup>

## 294

*Principles of Self-Governance*(January 1828)<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with the wishes of the spiritual leaders of the main cathedral of the Holy See, located in the settlement of Vagharshapat, as well as the legislation of the Christ-loving Russian Empire, which will administer these districts, all cities and settlements must have their own leaders, judges, and administrators.

At this time, our governing body has elected five worthy individuals from among the villagers. First, Archpriest Ghazar Grigorov, who, as the spiritual father of his flock, will serve as the chief judge of the court, so that the other members will not dare be biased in favor of the rich and rule against the poor. Second, Churchwarden Master Karapet Navasartov; third, Master Hovhannēs Shamkorov; fourth, Master Sahak Hakobov; and fifth, Deacon Simēon Ter-Esayov. They shall serve as the elders and overseers of the residents of the settlement, and with a Christian spirit, administer to all, rich and poor, widows and orphans. They shall not insult anyone openly or secretly and will not even contemplate injustice, but shall follow the will of God, serve as just judges, and place their souls in God's hand.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 433), 481.

<sup>2</sup> Tsar Nicholas' decree of 4 November issued in St. Petersburg is attached. On 6 December, the Russian church was established with great ceremony. Money was donated by Nersēs (2,000 rubles), Muslim and Armenian elders (1,000 rubles), and a tax of 1.60 rubles from each inhabitant of the province, *ibid.*, (doc. 434), 482.

<sup>3</sup> MAAC, file 58, doc. 112, formulated by Nersēs of Ashtarak.

Vardapet Hovsēp', who is a member of the spiritual hierarchy of the Holy See, shall supervise these five members in their judicial rulings. If the judges cannot come to an agreement they shall seek and abide by his decision. In the event that the vardapet is unable to pass judgment, then the leadership of the brotherhood of the Holy See shall make the final decision.

Therefore, you, the hierarchy of the Holy See, have to have a list of rules and principles by which you shall judge the population of Vagharshapat. These regulations should not only be written, but should be etched in your hearts.

Although Vagharshapat is at present a village, in the past it was the residence of the kings of Armenia. You should remember that the good name of your ancestors is at stake and as Etchmiadzin is the mother cathedral of the Armenian people, so is Vagharshapat the center of our former state. The glow of candles of the See should light the road to justice for all Armenians, who are under the benevolence of His Christian Majesty, Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich and his distinguished administrators.

Therefore, the following is the list of my principles:

First of all, you should have special premises, which shall contain a minimum of three rooms--the first, a room where you shall sit and judge; the second, a room for the clerk and for storing appropriate documents; and the third, a place to lock up the unruly and criminal offenders.

Second: You must have a special secretary and clerk to record all your trials and your discussions, which will be held according to the laws of the land and the laws of the Church. Minor cases may be decided orally, but with conscience. All cases that are recorded must be entered in a journal--that is, a permanent record--and each member of the court, as well as the secretary, has to sign each record. All your records and documents must be numbered and stamped with a seal, which in its center will have the image of Holy Etchmiadzin, surrounded by the words "Seal of the Court of Vagharshapat."

Third: Each day, except for Sundays and official state and monarchical holidays, you shall be present at the court from early in the morning until three in the afternoon, so that all who come can be heard promptly.

Fourth: Let all the inhabitants of Vagharshapat know that except in court, they cannot approach you regarding judicial matters, not in church, in the street, nor en route, nor at the houses of relatives.

Fifth: Judges should not dare to take bribes or gifts, openly or secretly; for bribes blind the eyes of justice. Such actions are all harmful to the well-being of our mighty empire. Be it known that both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker will be equally and severely punished by the hierarchy of the Holy See.

Sixth: All those who conduct trade have to obtain reliable weights from the Holy See that indicate one-half or one-quarter of a liter and also have indicators for *stils*.<sup>1</sup> No smaller weights are permitted in stores or houses. When selling wine and vodka, measures approved by the Holy See have to be used as well. All former weights and measures should be destroyed. Length should be measured only by the whole, half or quarter *gaz*,<sup>2</sup> with both ends of the ruler bearing the stamp of your court.

Seventh: Your court must have a special banner that is raised on a high pole from early in the morning until midday to discourage the wealthy, shopkeepers, or people from other regions, from purchasing whole loads of bread, fruit, fish, meat, as well as wine and vodka [at a wholesale price] and reselling it at a profit, or from fixing the price in advance to their advantage. The penalty for a first offense is 2 rubles from the wealthy or peasants living outside our region. The money should be used for the construction of a future college at Vagharshapat. The penalty for the second offense will be 4 rubles to benefit the college, but if the guilty party behaves with audacity and continues to break the law, he will be judged severely by the court and be punished according to the laws of the tsar and the Church. Rich shopkeepers will be punished in the same fashion. Poor shopkeepers will pay half a ruble for the first offense, 1 ruble for the second offense and will be punished as stated above for their third offense. You have to enable the poor, widows, and orphans to buy necessities according to their resources. In the afternoon the banner shall be lowered and there will be no limitations on buying or selling.

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<sup>1</sup> 20 *stils* equals 5 kilos or 11.023 lbs. 20 liters and equals 5.28 gallons.

<sup>2</sup> 1 *gaz* equals 39.37 inches.

Eighth: Since God in the heavens and the emperor on earth has favored our country of Armenia, every soul should behave according to the laws of God and the emperor. You have to teach right from wrong to our people, so that no one, including the former barbarians among us,<sup>1</sup> shall raise his hand against another or throw sticks and stones at others. Educate your children not to fight or swear--for the one who beats another is an animal, and the one who uses foul language houses Satan and his devils. The court should watch our young people. If they behave shamelessly, they should, according to St. Paul, be punished to save their souls.

Ninth: Since faith and service comes from knowledge, and knowledge from the words of Christ, you judges should show special interest in opening a school in your village, where your children will study the Scriptures and become examples for others.

Tenth: In spring you have to appoint enough watchmen in your fields and orchards for the division of water. Special attention should be given to animal flocks so that they do not destroy fields or orchards. If someone's animal damages a field or an orchard, there is no need for argument; they should come to your court and the person who has suffered damages must be compensated. If the animal belongs to one of you, then you have to be certain to pay the correct amount so that you will set an example.

Eleventh: If the state or the Church make special or urgent requests of the community, let the upper and middle groups make the contribution or perform the necessary obligation. If there is no other way, however, you can use the poor and their animals for compulsory duties. If you are forced to billet guests [or troops], do not billet them with the poor and do not put horses in their stables. You can, however, pay the poor to voluntarily perform such services in your place.

Twelfth: According to ancient custom, all villagers working for the Holy See are exempt from all taxes. You have to enforce this strictly. All villagers, however, are required to perform services for the Holy See and should do so without hesitation.

Here are the twelve rules which you have to observe. The state and the Church will thus view your court and your actions favorably and

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<sup>1</sup> Non-Christians are clearly implied here.

you shall be praised, and the catholicos, upon his return, will give you special blessings and you shall be rewarded by him.

## 295

*General Krasovskii to General Diebitsch*

(5 January 1828)<sup>1</sup>

In all fairness, I must inform Your Excellency that His Grace Archbishop Nersēs is a true pastor of the Armenian people, has given great service, and has the respect of all the people in this region. I rely on him a great deal and I hope to send his engraved portrait to Your Excellency. Nersēs has gathered approximately four hundred Armenian cavalry and eight hundred Armenian infantry who are prepared to fight on our side and for whom I have obtained weapons from those captured in the fortress of Erevan. The Armenians are willing to serve at their own expense, save the provisions necessary during marches....<sup>2</sup>

## 296

*Tsar Nicholas to Nersēs of Ashtarak*

(25 January 1828)<sup>3</sup>

Your Grace, Nersēs, the Armenian Archbishop!

For years and on many occasions you have demonstrated your loyalty to Russia; and especially during this war with the Persians, which, I hope will finally be concluded, you joined our troops and even faced personal danger. The commander of the Caucasian Corps, General Paskevich, has informed me in glowing terms of your deeds, making it clear that your efforts have benefited Russia. You not only encouraged

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<sup>1</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4334, f. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Paskevich had appointed Nersēs as one of the three main administrators of the khanate of Erevan, *AKAK*, VII (doc. 432), 481. Nersēs was also appointed by the Russians as the religious head of the Armenians of Erevan, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1 file 1911, f. 7.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA, Fund 880, File 5, folder 388, written in St. Petersburg and signed by Tsar Nicholas. An Armenian translation of this decree was included, see *SAAN*, I, 276-279.

the Armenian people to take our side but set an example by your own actions....

In recognition of your beneficial services and as a sign of Our special goodwill toward the Armenian people, I award you the Order of St. Alexander Nevskii....

## 297

*General Paskevich to Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
(25 January 1828)<sup>1</sup>

I have examined your request of 27 December of last year regarding the resettlement of Armenians from Persian provinces under our control and am responding as follows:

1) From the moment I arrived in Tabriz, delegations representing Armenians and Greeks from various regions of Azerbaijan, even those which were not yet under our control, came to see me. I assured them that as long as our troops remained in Persia they would be able to move into Russia and take advantage of our laws. They went home and prepared to emigrate. Archbishop Step'an and Vardapet Nicholas have aided this process by taking my messages to various Armenian settlements as well as to Russian officers and Persian officials, in order to expedite the process.

2) Your Grace suggested that we instruct the Persian government to encourage the purchase by Persian individuals of immovable property, such as mills, houses, and orchards at a fair price. However, knowing the Persian government, do you expect them to agree to pay the Armenians for their property? Individuals may sell their property to Persian individuals and we have proposed that after peace is achieved, those who wish to leave Persia shall have five years to settle their estates.

3) As long as the Russian troops remain in Azerbaijan, the Armenians who wish to leave Persia shall not be harmed in any way. Although we have proposed in the treaty that those who wish to emigrate to Russia shall not be harmed after we leave, there are no guarantees that the Persians will abide by it. I have therefore advised all Armenians to

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 546), 588-589.

move within our borders as soon as possible and certainly prior to the departure of our forces.

## 298

*Treaty of Turkmanchay (Torkamanchāy)*

(10 February 1828)<sup>1</sup>

Article III: His Majesty, the Shah cedes the Khanate of Erevan, on both sides of the Arax, and the Khanate of Nakhichevan to Russia. The Shah agrees to give the Russian authorities, within six months at the latest, all the archives and all public documents concerning the administration of the two khanates.

Article XII: The Parties agree, in the interest of their respective subjects, to fix a term of three years in order that those among them who own immovable property on both sides of the Arax may have time to sell or exchange it. His Imperial Majesty, the Tsar excepts, however, the former Sardar of Erevan, Hüseyn Khan, his brother Hasan Khan, and Karīm Khan, the former governor of Nakhichevan, from this provision.

Article XV: His Majesty, the Shah, in order to restore tranquillity and to remove fear from his subjects who have suffered in this war, presents a full amnesty to all inhabitants and officials of the province of Azerbaijan. None of them, without exception, may be pursued for his conduct, or molested for his opinions or for his acts during the war or during the temporary occupation of Azerbaijan by Russian troops. They shall have one year to transport themselves and their families freely to Russia. They shall have the right to sell or transport their movable property without harassment or taxation. They shall have five years to sell or dispose of their immovable property. Those who dur-

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<sup>1</sup> The treaty was signed in the village of Torkamanchāy on 22 February (10 February, old style). It was divided into political and commercial sections. The Persians agreed to abide by all the articles of the Treaty of Gulistan (1813), to pay an indemnity of 20 million silver rubles, to give Russia the sole right to maintain war vessels in the Caspian Sea, extraterritorial rights, commercial privileges, etc. The Russians recognized 'Abbās Mīrzā and his progeny as the sole heirs to the Persian throne. Relevant articles are included here.



ing this period commit a crime and are liable to penalties, are not included in the above amnesty.<sup>1</sup>

299

*General Krasovskii to Captain Sisinskii*<sup>2</sup>  
(11 February 1828)<sup>3</sup>

I am aware of your intelligence and your ability; hence in sending you to the fortress of Mākū, I have the following requests:

1) Make sure that the citizens who owe taxes or services to 'Alī Khan of Mākū--be they Armenians, Tatars, or Kurds--pay their dues, for it would be unfair for them to escape to Russia without carrying out their duties.

2) If 'Alī Khan of Mākū demands illegal taxes or services from the above then you must immediately send a secret report to Erevan.

3) Staff Captain Diuland and Lieutenant Leontev report that a large grain supply belonging to the former sardar of Erevan--now belonging to our treasury--is in Mākū. I instruct you to conduct a secret inquiry, and if this is true report to me in Erevan via Armenian couriers.

4) Make sure that 'Alī Khan of Mākū does not secretly transfer any goods belonging to the former sardar of Erevan. If you suspect that he is planning to do so, you shall inform me and shall confront him and tell him that you will inform the governor of Erevan and he shall have to answer personally to me.

5) Try to collect from the Armenians loyal to us information on Turkish troop movement in the Bayazid province, which is a neighbor of Mākū. Archbishop Barsegh of St. Thaddeus monastery, which is on the border of Mākū and Bayazid, can be of help in this matter.

6) To facilitate your task I am sending an Armenian functionary, Simēon Melikov Abrahamov, who will tell you which Armenians of

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian version of complete treaty is in T. Iuzefovich, *Dogovory Rossii s Vostokom* (St. Petersburg, 1869), 223-227; the Persian text is in *AVOK*, docs. 61-62.; the English text is in J. C. Hurewitz, ed., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, I (Princeton, 1956), 96-102.

<sup>2</sup> Staff Captain of the 39th Jäger Group.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4313, ff. 52-53.

Mākū can be trusted. I am also sending the interpreter Hovsēp' to help you communicate with the Armenians.

7) I am sending you six Cossacks from the Basov brigade to be used as couriers. Horses and all their other needs must be provided by 'Alī Khan of Mākū.

8) Fifty rubles are allocated for expenses, which will be given to you upon presentation of receipts at the Erevan treasury.

300

*Colonel Lazarev<sup>1</sup> to General Paskevich*

(14 February 1828)<sup>2</sup>

The Russian troops who entered Persia during the last war were treated as family members by the Armenians. This people expressed their sincere desire for our success and aided us in every way possible. They indicated that they wished to be placed under the protection of our great ruler. They were ready to leave their homes and birthplaces and move to Russia.

Your supreme Excellency has broken the pride of the East. You have spread the glory of Russian arms and thus the Armenians, who need help to emigrate, rely on your beneficence to resurrect themselves and I, as a member of that race, have bared my feelings.

As you have given me your trust, I take the liberty to propose the following for the resettlement of Armenians into Russia:

1) I would need an order from Your Excellency that will empower me to arrange for the resettlement of those Armenians who are willing to do so. In it, the specific articles of the treaty, as well as time limits, should be mentioned.

2) Permit me to appoint the necessary number of staff and chief officers who speak Armenian--I shall submit their names to Your Excellency, with their respective duties listed below.

3) With Your Excellency's indulgence, I think that in regions where the conditions are dangerous, the Armenians should put them-

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<sup>1</sup> Lazar Ioakimovich Lazarev served under Paskevich and was active in the Armenian emigration from Persia.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 553), 595-596.

selves under the protection of Russian troops, who will remain there and who will help them emigrate to Russia.

4) I suggest that those Armenians who are very poor be given a subsidy, the amount of which I leave to the generosity of Your Excellency. If there is no fodder for their animals, then orders should be sent to whoever is necessary to supply them with fodder. If they have grain or flour which they cannot transport, they should be permitted to give it to our treasury [or army] and be paid in kind or cash once they arrive at their new homes.

Our officers have gone to various locations in Azerbaijan and are compiling a list of those who wish to resettle in Russia and those who may need their protection. I shall soon be able to report to Your Excellency the number of families who have already begun their journey and those who will be joining them.

I hope that my efforts will prove successful and that Russia will gain a considerable number of loyal citizens who are willing to risk the hardships of emigration.

In conclusion, I assure you that my love for my nation as well as my wish to carry out your orders is responsible for this note.

### 301

*Vardapet Hovsēp' to Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
( 18 February 1828)<sup>1</sup>

On the seventh of this month I went to the village of Mastara,<sup>2</sup> where I found all the inhabitants in great distress because the Synod on 23 January had appointed the priest Ter-Petros as their village elder. After consulting all the inhabitants, I appointed Gevorg Martirosean and Enkoy Sarkhoshean and gave them the necessary instructions. I appointed the benevolent elder, Sargis Erkar Avagean, church warden. I made a list of all the inhabitants. I kept one copy myself and gave a copy to Sargis. I also collected and recorded the sum of 14 rubles and 4 'abbāsī for the Holy See.

On the eighth I called deacon Harut'iwn to the great monastery of Ghoshavank and after conversing with him sent him back to Kars with

<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 58, doc. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Main settlement in the *maḥal* of Talin, which neighbored the pashalik of Kars.

a letter for Archbishop Step'anos. I instructed him to bring me his oral or written response.

On the ninth I sent 16 bullocks of barley, some 28 *samars*, from Ghoshavank to Mastara with great difficulty, to be transferred to the Holy See. I had great difficulty in this since their [the Persians'] road guards are everywhere. The beg of Maghzberd was not there, I otherwise would have sought his assistance. They say that the new pasha has appointed Şerif Beg in his place.

On the twelfth I left Mastara and reached Shahriar via Talin. Then I proceeded to Koghb (Kulb), where I became familiar with the affairs of the local church, Surb Khach. I appointed Abraham Aslanean as church warden and prepared a list of his parishioners in two copies, one of which I gave to him. I also located the dues which had been owed to the church for seventeen years. They shall pay them in the next two months. I had a difficult time reconciling the family of Margar with the murderer, Hakobean, from Shahriar. I spoke about it in front of everyone in church and made the murderer perform penance until Holy Thursday. I took their statement, in which both parties promised that from now on they shall not fight with each other. I sent 238 pieces of rock salt, which was owed to the Holy See, to Shahriar, which leaves 162 pieces that they promised to send on the seventeenth. The local inhabitants stated that they would gladly send us salt on their own pack animals. They all swear by you and are ready to do anything for you. Melik Mnats'akan Hovhannēsean has donated 5 *samars* of barley for your horses. I purchased 5 additional *samars*. The entire 10 *samars* I dispatched by our horses to Blur.

After Koghb I went to Kara-Kale and from there to Haghveris, where I checked on our oxen. After that I went to Blur and checked on our horses and oxen there. I also gave our shepherds their instructions. I went then to P'anik where I checked our bullocks and oxen. Only one had died from disease, all the rest were in good condition. From there I returned to the Holy See on the seventeenth.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 26 February, Hovsēp' wrote to Nersēs that Sarkhosean and Avagean had arrived from Mastara, and requested guns, cartridges and gunpowder to defend themselves against the Muslims. There were 16 families of Armenians in Mastara with some 93 able-bodied men. They had only 28 guns and need 65 more, *ibid.*, dcc. 320.

## 302

*Archbishop Barsegh to Archbishop Nersēs of Ashtarak*  
(25 February 1828)<sup>1</sup>

Near our monastery there is a village called Kırk-Bulagh, the inhabitants of which last year during the war fled to the district of Ch'ēpukhli in the Ottoman territory. On 14 November 1827 I sent a vardapet to the ruler of that district, 'Abdal Aqa Ezit, requesting that he permit them to return. Fearing the Russian troops, he returned all of them. Prior to my departure for Tabriz, I worried about their fate. Their village was looted and completely destroyed by the Persian army and I asked the Armenians of the village of Gharen to give them shelter for the winter.

They now wish to be allowed to resettle on the other side of the Arax in the Erevan province. Three of them, Pepo Papikean, Hakob Awetisean, and Khach'o Awetisean, have been sent to Your Grace with petitions from the rest of them in Gharen. I ask that you calm their concerns and help these thirty families who because of their Christian faith have lost all their animals and belongings.

## 303

*General Paskevich to Colonel Lazarev*  
(26 February 1828)<sup>2</sup>

Although most of the Armenians and Greeks in Azerbaijan had expressed their wish to resettle in Russia, we did not encourage all of them, for we hoped that Azerbaijan would remain in our hands. Now that we are to evacuate it--except for Urmiye, Kōi, and Mākū, which we shall keep until the indemnity of one and a half *kurur* is paid by the Persian government--there is no reason for the Christians of Azerbaijan to remain there. I thus give you the following instructions for their departure:...

1) Dispatch the staff and chief officers mentioned in your report to all the Armenian and other Christian settlements, to prepare them to

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<sup>1</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 58, doc. 207.

<sup>2</sup> SAAN, II, 150-156. Written from Tabriz.

leave with our troops from Marāḡe not later than 8 March of this year. They are to leave immediately and to report to the commander of the army, General Pankrat'ev, whom I shall inform. A senior officer with twenty-five Cossacks is to assist their move.

2) Upon their arrival in Marāḡe you and your staff shall interview each family and ascertain if they truly wish to leave Persia.

3) No one should be forced or convinced to resettle, but the advantages of living under the rule of His Imperial Majesty, the strongest in Europe, as well as the peaceful conditions under our laws should be pointed out to them.

4) You can assure their merchants that they will be free to trade in our cities. The farmers will be given land and shall be free from taxes for six years and from services for three years.

5) Those who are in need of financial assistance are to be recorded and the list should be forwarded to me, or if I am no longer in Azerbaijan, to the commander of the army in Azerbaijan.

6) Those who live close to Marāḡe are advised to move now or, at the latest, with our troops. Otherwise they will be subject to the wrath of the Persians and may not be permitted to emigrate.

7) In Urmiye and Kōi, where we shall remain, the Armenians can prepare to depart by the end of May.

8) Villages or families who wish to emigrate in their entirety should be given special forms on which to list their names, so that we shall know which group is exempt from taxes in our domains.

9) We should permit each village to leave a trusted individual behind to sell the immovable property of the village during the time agreed in the treaty. The name of the individual and his duty is to be recorded on a form, a copy of which should be given to our commissioner at the court of 'Abbās Mīrzā or to our diplomatic representative in Tabriz, to assure their aid in this task.

10) To assure that the immigrants shall have enough food for themselves and their livestock, I suggest that you break them into groups of 150 to 300 families, or one village at a time.

11) Each group should take a different route to our border so that enough supplies can be prepared for each group.

12) Each family should be given protection.

13) It is advisable to direct most of the settlers to the Nakhichevan and Erevan regions, where the Christian population is low. The inhabitants of the village of Uzumchi and the three settlements around it are permitted to go to Karabagh, which is closer to them.

14) Each party is to be assigned an officer whom you should prepare for this and who speaks Armenian. Each party must have two to five Cossacks as escorts.

15) Once a group has moved you shall have to inform the government of Erevan of their exact numbers, where they lived, where they wish to settle, even temporarily, what kind of climate they lived in, whether they prefer mountains or plains, and whether they farm and, if so, how many animals they possess.

16) I have instructed General Zhukovskii to give you 25,000 silver rubles to distribute among the needy, not more than 10 rubles per family. Their elders have to sign receipts and you and your functionaries have to present an account of the said funds.

17) A committee will be set up by the temporary governor of Erevan to meet the settlers at our borders and to help them find a suitable place. The above villagers who wish to move to Karabagh will be met by the military governor of that province, Prince Abkhazov.

18) Upon completion of your task, you are to submit a full report to me of the number of families who were transported and the funds that were utilized by you and your subordinates. The farmers shall be exempted for five years from paying back the subsidy.

19) From the 25,000 rubles allocated to you, you may pay a traveling allowance of 2 silver kopeks per *verst* to staff officers and 3 kopeks to senior officers....<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 29 February, Paskevich wrote to the Erevan governor to prepare a committee for the arrival of the Armenians from Azerbaijan. Families who were needy were to receive between 10 and 20 rubles. Armenian peasants were to receive good farmland with water, and each family was to receive at least 3 *sazhen* of land. Lands belonging to Etchmiadzin were not to be populated by the settlers. State lands were preferred [for future taxes]. Those Armenian villages that had extra land could accept settlers if they wished to. Christian villages in Muslim areas were to be populated by Christian refugees. Nakhichevan and Erevan, as well as the border regions of Kapan, Meghri, and Ordubad, were preferred sites for Armenian settlers, *SAAN*, II, 157-162.

## 304

*General Pankrat'ev<sup>1</sup> to General Paskevich*(1 March 1828)<sup>2</sup>

I have received your instructions of February 26 regarding Armenian settlers and have reported that some two hundred families have arrived from Persia. It is my duty, however, to inform you that 'Abbās Mīrzā has sent a notice to the Armenians of Marāḡe asking them not to leave Persia. He has promised them many privileges. He has also asked Ĵa'far-qolī Khan to remain in Persia, granting him the governorship of Marāḡe. Although Ĵa'far-qolī Khan knows that he cannot trust the promises of the Persians, he is hesitant to leave, and I am not sure if he will depart from Marāḡe.

## 305

*Report of General Osten-Saken<sup>3</sup>*(7 March 1828)<sup>4</sup>

Ter-Stepanov, an Armenian merchant from Tiflis, performed a unique and special service for our forces in Azerbaijan.

When we had run out of money and had difficulty in obtaining a loan, and the breakup of the peace talks in Dey-Korgan spelled the continuation of the war and necessitated the immediate procurement of provisions, the said merchant, through Prince General Chavchavadze, found 130,000 rubles in notes.<sup>5</sup>

The same merchant was responsible for assuring that merchants paid their customs duties after Mīrzā Rezā Mīzāndār had fled his post as customs officer of Tabriz, thus avoiding losses to our treasury.

In recognition of all his services, I propose that the administration reward him with a gold medal for his selfless devotion....<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nikita P. Pankrat'ev served in Transcaucasia from 1806 and took part in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-1812 and 1828-1829.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 559), 602.

<sup>3</sup> Major General I. Osten-Saken served as governor of Nakhichevan.

<sup>4</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 548/1, file 119, f. 31.

<sup>5</sup> The special paper notes were used until 1840.

<sup>6</sup> Ter-Stepanov was awarded a gold medal on 27 March.



## 306

*General Paskevich to General Amburger*<sup>1</sup>( 9 March 1828)<sup>2</sup>

The Persian government has complained that we are forcibly removing the Armenians from Persia. The Persian officials are, therefore, preventing the Armenians from selling their goods. For example, the Armenians of Dey-Korgan, who had already sold their houses and orchards, were forced by the Persian official Aqa Karīm to return the money. He forbade them selling their property and leaving Persia.

I commission you to inform the Persian officials and their government of the conditions agreed in the treaty, which state that anyone who wishes to leave within the allotted time can do so without hindrance. Let me know immediately if they do not heed your request....

## 307

*Nersēs of Ashtarak to General Paskevich*(17 March 1828)<sup>3</sup>

As part of my efforts to resettle the Armenians of Azerbaijan in Russia, I have been informed that Bishop Israyēl, who has been appointed by Etchmiadzin to the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Salmas, has forgotten his Christian duty and is stopping the Armenians from emigrating to Russia, as well as being guilty of other inappropriate actions. Therefore, by the power invested in me by the catholicos, as the supervisor of Armenian affairs in this region, I have asked General Prince Chavchavadze to order our commander at Kōi to escort Bishop Israyēl under guard to Etchmiadzin, so that he may be judged by our religious court and explain his actions.

Although Chavchavadze has informed our commander at Kōi, the commander has refused to act without Your Excellency's approval. I, therefore, ask Your Excellency to inform whoever is in charge to send Bishop Israyēl here and permit the Armenians to rid themselves of Persian demands and come to Russia. Although it is possible that

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<sup>1</sup> A. K. Amburger was Russian Consul General in Tabriz.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 564), 606.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VII (docs. 568), 607-608.

some Armenians have to settle their accounts prior to emigration, that should not be an excuse to stop the Armenian resettlement in the Erevan and Nakhichevan provinces.<sup>1</sup>

## 308

*General Paskevich to General Diebitsch*(17 March 1828)<sup>2</sup>

Your communiqué of 18 February with copies of your instructions to General Sipiagin and General Krasovskii, as well as your communiqué no. 46 with plans for the campaign against Turkey in case of war, was delayed in reaching me because the courier was sent via Karabagh.

As far as the Turkish campaign is concerned, I have not made any plans, since I am certain that they will not start any hostilities until the end of April, when there is enough grass for their horses. The peace with Persia will permit us to utilize larger forces than we had anticipated. My only concern is the lack of provisions and transport. I had hoped to find more grain in Erevan than the mere 4500 *chetverts* that were there and will have to transport more from Georgia, via the Kura. I have enough ammunition, and the spirit of the troops is high. Once all is in place I will be more confident of victory....

My forces will be ready by 21 April, for some of them are now resting themselves and their horses from the Persian campaign. I did not find any preparations in Erevan and have begun to recruit local troops. Some 2,500 Muslims (1,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry) and 600 Armenian infantry have volunteered, which will be sufficient to defend the Arax border.

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<sup>1</sup> Paskevich's response on 19 March stated that it would have been easier to carry out the wish of Nersēs when Paskevich was in Tabriz. He added that although Kōi was temporarily in Russian hands (until the payment of the indemnity by the Persians) he could not order the removal of a Persian subject--that would be in violation of the treaty and would give an excuse to 'Abbās Mīrzā to file a protest, *ibid.*, (doc. 569), 608.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4329, f. 277.

## 309

*Decree of Tsar Nicholas*  
(21 March 1828)<sup>1</sup>

By the force of the treaty concluded with Persia, the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan have joined Russia and shall be herewith known as the *Armenian Province*<sup>2</sup> and shall be included in Our Title. The administrative structure of the said province shall be forwarded to the state senate.

## 310

*Colonel Lazarev's Proclamation to the Armenians of Persia*  
(30 March 1828)<sup>3</sup>

## CHRISTIANS

I have heard that certain individuals are spreading rumors and are casting doubts about your resettlement in Russia.

Our administrator in chief, who is well aware of my duty toward the Armenians as well as their trust in me, has instructed me to inform you that His Imperial Majesty has assured your safe and peaceful journey. You may choose Erevan, Nakhichevan, or Karabagh, where you shall be given fertile land on which you can start a new life and where you are required to pay only one-tenth of the produce to the state. You shall be exempt from taxes for six years and those among you who are poor shall receive assistance. Those who have immovable property can send their families and appoint someone they trust to sell that property. According to the Treaty of Turkmanchay they have five years to dispose of such property. Our commissioner, who is with 'Abbās Mīrzā, will ensure that you receive the money from the sale. Once in Russia, you shall live among Christians and will never again be oppressed because of your religion. You shall live under the rule of law. Your overall well-being [in Russia] will help you to see the present minor inconveniences in a different light. It is true that you will

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 437), 487, original in PSZR (no. 1888), 1794-1795.

<sup>2</sup> Emphasis in the original.

<sup>3</sup> SAAN, II, 163-166, issued in Urmiye.

abandon your native land, which is difficult for all, but the thought of living in a Christian land must fill you with rapture.

Scattered in Persian provinces, you will witness a union of Christians. Do you realize that the Great Russian Monarch will reward your loyalty? Hurry! Time is running out. The Russian troops will soon cross the Persian borders, and your resettlement will become difficult and we will not be able to help you. In return for minor and temporary sacrifices at the present, you shall gain everything forever.

Ghazaros Lazareants<sup>1</sup>

### 311

*‘Abbās Mīrzā to Colonel Lazarev*

(March 1828)<sup>2</sup>

Your government has received the necessary sums from our capital, Tehran, for the evacuation of Kōi and Urmiye. According to the agreement made with General Paskevich you, with God's help, will leave our province [Azerbaijan]. As to the Armenians, Your Excellency is aware that it has been decided that those Armenians who wish to stay will not be forced to leave Persia, while those who desire to leave will not be forced to stay. To assure that the evacuation process is carried out according to our agreement, I am sending our esteemed official Moḥammad Tāher Khan to make sure that no Armenian is coerced or frightened into leaving against his wishes. *Šawwal* 1243 *Hijri*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The document is in Russian and Armenian, the Russian signature reads Lazarev.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile in S. Glinka, *Opisanie pereseleniia Armian' adderbidzhanskikh' v' predely Rossii* (Moscow, 1831), facs. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On 21 April, Lazarev responded that various Persian officials in Azerbaijan could attest that the Armenian emigration was done voluntarily. He added that one of the khans, 'Askar, had even dispatched his son to question the Armenians. Lazarev concluded that it was the Persian government that was breaking the agreement. He asserted that Moḥammad Tāher Khan was bribing the Armenians to stay, *ibid.*, pp. 69-74.

## 312

*Colonel Lazarev to General Paskevich*(2 April 1828)<sup>1</sup>

Captain Gamazov, despite the difficulties put by the Persian government, has managed, with the help of the officer under him, to resettle 700 Armenian families from Marāḡe. I am happy to report that there is not a single Armenian left in Marāḡe.

Lieutenant Colonel Prince [Moses] Argutinskii-Dolgorukov, who was in charge of the resettlement of the Armenians of Tabriz and its environs, has, as of 22 March, sent 329 families, half of which are already across the Arax. Only six Armenian families refused to leave.

While traveling from Tabriz to Urmiye via Salmas, I saw many Armenian villagers who were ecstatic about their new lives.

In Urmiye I heard that the Persian government has scared the Armenians by telling them that the climate across the Arax is very different. They are told that there is hunger and that subjects of His Majesty are sold there. I met Captain Willock<sup>2</sup> from the English Mission here, who told me that he saw poverty in Karabagh and fears that the Armenian settlers who are en route to Erevan and Nakhichevan will suffer from hunger, since these areas were part of the warzone. The resettlement, he added, will be on our conscience. Thus the English as well as the Persians are hampering our efforts and General Laptev told me that some Armenian villagers were quoting Willock.

To stop these actions I informed our commissioner, who is with 'Abbās Mīrzā, and issued a proclamation of the benefits of life in Russia. I also sent Gamazov and Ensign Gorganov with Willock to an Armenian village, whose inhabitants told Willock that they are willing to go to Russia regardless of any difficulties they may encounter there.

The Armenians of Urmiye and Salmas, are overall, poor (although there are some among them who have property, but they have not been able to sell it even at half price). In order to succeed here, I request that you send the remainder of the 25,000 rubles allocated for this project.

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 570), 608-609.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Willock, English chargé d'affaires in northern Persia.

The envoys of Archbishop Nersēs, Bishop Step'an and Vardapet Nikoghos, have gone to the villages around Salmas and have tried to gather settlers but have had no great success so far. I must, however, inform Your Excellency that the aforementioned priests, as well as Vardapet Grigor and the officials working for Gamazov and Captain Voinikov, have worked diligently....<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 12 April Lazarev wrote to Paskevich that the Armenians of Marāḡe, who had crossed the Arax, were short of food and fodder. He added that these people had left everything behind and had put their trust in Russia. He asked Paskevich to order General Pankrat'ev to immediately forward funds. Armenians in Tabriz and Kōi were in need of funds as well. Lazarev concluded that such problems could only add fuel to the Persian rumors regarding the hardships across the border, *AKAK*, VII (doc 573), 611-612. Nersēs must have also written to Paskevich regarding the situation, for on 25 April, Paskevich informed him that he was doing everything possible to alleviate the suffering of the 1,000 Armenian families from Marāḡe and Tabriz and that more than 50,000 rubles had been allocated for their needs, *ibid.*, (doc. 582), 615-616. On 1 May, Lazarev again wrote to Paskevich expressing his concern that the Erevan province was not able to take care of the Armenians from Persia. He estimated that some 5,000 families might wish to settle in Erevan province. The funds given to each family (from 10 to 15 rubles) was not enough to sustain them. He also complained that 'Abbās Mīrzā had been harassing the Russian officers in charge of the resettlement and had been sending money and gifts to the Armenians to convince them to stay behind, and that some 60 families who had received 12 rubles each were demanding more to cross the border, *ibid.*, (doc. 586), 619-620. On 26 May, Paskevich reported to Diebitsch that several thousand Armenian families had arrived from Persia in the Erevan province and that a special commission had been set up in Erevan [Paskevich's instructions to the commission is in *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 978, ff. 3-9]; the rest were in the Erevan and Nakhichevan regions, *ibid.*, ff. 22-26. On 29 August, Argutinskii-Dolgorukov reported that conditions were still hard and that 87,000 rubles had been distributed among the more than 6,500 Armenian families who had settled in the Armenian province, *AKAK*, VII (doc. 614), 640. On 8 September, the Armenian settlers from Persia complained to Catholicos Ep'rem that they had faced great hardships since their arrival, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 58, doc. 66. For an overview see Griboedov's notes in *Sochineniia*, II (Moscow, 1971), 339-341.

## 313

*'Abbās Mirzā to Colonel Lazarev*(April 1828)<sup>1</sup>

It is true that according to the treaty signed by our governments those Armenians who wish to leave Azerbaijan can do so. We have not hindered their emigration. In fact, a number of Armenian families from Tabriz left that city after our troops returned there. Your troops, however, have uprooted entire villages under the guise of voluntary emigration. Is it possible that several thousand families would want to abandon their thousand-year homeland, orchards, and houses for homelessness and emptiness! You claim that the Armenians wish to leave voluntarily. There are two ways for people to emigrate: 1. Those who wish to leave for a new location. 2. Those who leave because of fear and pressure. We have abided by the treaty and have permitted those who wish to leave. You, however, have personally distributed subsidies among the Armenians. In addition, Etchmiadzin has ordered that all priests leave our domain or face the loss of their status and be punished in their afterlife. The *esauls* of the Cossacks are giving money to the Armenians of Salmas to leave. Russian troops pressure those Armenians who wish to stay behind to leave their homeland<sup>2</sup> ....*Šawwal* 1243 *Hijri*.

## 314

*General Benkendorf to Catholicos Ep'rem*(13 April 1828)<sup>3</sup>

The Armenian people have always been loyal to the Russian Imperial throne and have thus gained the special attention of the Russian monarchs. His Imperial Majesty has favored the Armenians for their service, particularly during the last war against Persia. His Highness

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<sup>1</sup> Glinka, *op. cit.*, facs. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lazarev denied these charges in *ibid.*, pp. 83-85. On 8 September, Armenian immigrants from Persia wrote to Catholicos Ep'rem about their difficult conditions in Nakhichevan; see MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 58, doc. 66.

<sup>3</sup> SAAN, I, 279-281.

wishes that the Armenians continue to enjoy his protection everywhere and that their loyalty to Russia will not put them in danger....

We ask you, as the head pastor of the Armenian nation, to maintain your devotion to the Emperor and your people. It is necessary that you choose from among the Church hierarchy a priest who has your trust and who will be able to serve the Armenians of Bessarabia. The Armenian prelate of that region, Archbishop Grigor, has died and the community is in need of another leader. The person chosen should be one who shall follow the example of Catholicos Hovsēp', Prince Argutinskii-Dolgoruki, and the late Archbishop Grigor. Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis, as well as the present religious head of the Armenians in Georgia, Archbishop Nersēs, have His Majesty's trust....

It would be advantageous, if, with your permission, Nersēs was sent to Bessarabia and left his present duties to his assistant. Your Holiness can sense that such an action will be welcomed by His Majesty, who will continue his benevolence towards the Armenian people.

Your [countryman] State Counselor Khristofor Ioakimovich Lazarev, who is under my command, agrees with me. We await your appointment of a prelate for Bessarabia, so that we can inform His Imperial Majesty.

### 315

#### *General Benkendorf to Archbishop Nersēs*

(13 April 1828)<sup>1</sup>

The current situation of the Armenian people requires the special attention of His Imperial Highness. The Emperor has asked me to approach Your Grace and invite you to serve the Armenian community of Bessarabia, which shall benefit from your wisdom and experience. His Holiness has also been informed of my request and shall continue to encourage the more than century-long loyalty of the Armenian people to the Russian Empire.

It would indeed be beneficial if your health and affairs would permit you to go to Bessarabia, where I would have the pleasure of meeting you in person. If it is impossible for you to carry out our

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<sup>1</sup> SAAN, I, 282-283.



wishes, we request that you send us a diligent priest who is familiar with our Armenian community and enjoys your trust....<sup>1</sup>

## 316

*General Benkendorf to General Paskevich*  
(13 April 1828)<sup>2</sup>

Following the death of Archbishop Grigor, His Imperial Highness, in his concern for the Armenian community of Bessarabia has asked me to write to Your Excellency as follows:

It is clear that the Armenian catholicos is the head of the Armenian nation. He is in charge of appointing the archbishops to the various dioceses. I have written to His Holiness and to Archbishop Nersēs and, if Your Excellency does not object, we would like to have Nersēs as the Armenian Prelate of Bessarabia. If this does not suit Your Excellency, then we request that You ask His Holiness to appoint a capable candidate [pro-Russian] who can speak Turkish and Armenian. Please inform me of Your decision so that I can communicate it to His Imperial Majesty....<sup>3</sup>

## 317

*General Paskevich to General Diebitsch and Catholicos Ep'rem*  
(2 May 1828)<sup>4</sup>

With the annexation of the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan under the name of the *Armenian Province*, the Etchmiadzin monastery, now under the protection of the Russian State, shall enjoy peace and tranquillity. The Armenian Church and its people will, as always, have the utmost protection of our government....

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<sup>1</sup> A similar letter was sent by Benkendorf to Paskevich, *ibid.*, VII (doc. 206), 252-253.

<sup>2</sup> *SAAN*, I, 283-284.

<sup>3</sup> On 6 June, Paskevich wrote to Benkendorf stating that he had asked the catholicos and Nersēs to decide if Nersēs was willing to go to Bessarabia and that Nersēs had responded that he would travel to Tiflis to seek his opinion, *AKAK*, VII (210), 253-254.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 208), 253.

I suggest that due to these fortunate circumstances, Your Holiness should enjoy finding yourself once more in Etchmiadzin, with its senior hierarchy, who are impatiently waiting for you to assume your pastoral duties, free from former pressures. Please let me know of your travel plans so that I may provide the necessary military escort.

## 318

*General Paskevich to the Governor of the Armenian Province*(4 May 1828)<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Nersēs has interceded on behalf of the family of Hakob Arutiunov, who fled to us from the army of 'Abbās Mīrzā with information on the Persian plans, but who was caught, was blinded and had his nose and lips severed; on behalf of the widow of Astuatsatur, whose husband was killed by the Persians because he carried letters from Russian commanders; and of Hovhannēs Aslean, whose eyes were removed and his nose and tongue cut for showing the road to the soldiers of General Benkendorf. I order the administration of Armenia to give them 10 gold rubles each and to continue a subsidy of 30 silver rubles a year from the Erevan treasury.<sup>2</sup>

## 319

*General Diebitsch to General Paskevich*(6 June 1828)<sup>3</sup>

His Majesty has observed that the actions of Archbishop Nersēs have for some time now been detrimental to our government. This can be again witnessed by the complaint, submitted through you, from the eighty-five Armenian militiamen, which Nersēs, on his own volition,

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 440), 491.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Chavchavadze has a different version of the reasons for the mutilation of Hakob Arutiunov, *ibid.*, (doc. 443), 492. Hakob was an artillery man in 'Abbās Mīrzā's army. On 17 August, he fired his cannon on the Persians instead of the Russians. He was found out and escaped, but was caught near Etchmiadzin by Hōseyn Khan, sardar of Erevan, who blinded him and cut his nose, lips, and heels. Hakob thus became a beggar and his family was destitute and in need of help, concluded Chavchavadze.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 209), 253.

has forced to serve as guards in Etchmiadzin for twenty-five years. All these actions make me suspect that Nersēs may have some secret plans regarding the provinces recently annexed to Russia. His Majesty wants to know your opinion of the above conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

## 320

*Tsar Nicholas to Catholicos Ep'rem*(22 July 1828)<sup>2</sup>

To the High and Exalted Armenian Patriarch, Ep'rem.

Your constant zeal on behalf of the Russian Empire and your high moral standards, by which you have earned the love of your flock, the Armenian people, have not gone unnoticed by Us and in demonstrating Our favor towards you, We award you the diamond badge of the order of St. Alexander Nevskii.

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<sup>1</sup> On 10 July, Paskevich wrote to Diebitsch reminding him of the services performed by Nersēs in the war with Persia. He added that he had met with Nersēs and that the latter had denied any intrigues with the Ottomans; his actions in Etchmiadzin were necessitated by the old age and sickness of Ep'rem, which forced Nersēs to administer the monastery, *ibid.* (Doc. 211), 454-256. On 16 October, Paskevich, after further inquiries, wrote a secret memorandum to Bludov, stating that, starting in 1822 when Ep'rem left Etchmiadzin, Nersēs, who was in charge of the Armenians under Russian rule in Transcaucasia, had assumed control of Etchmiadzin as well. His correspondence with the patriarch of Constantinople so infuriated the latter that priests from Etchmiadzin were thrown out of Turkey. The Synod resented Nersēs' rule and tried to get the catholicos back from Haghpat. He added that although Nersēs did perform some services during the war with Persia, his claim of rallying the entire Persian Armenian population was false. Most of the Armenians were either moved out of Erevan or did not cooperate actively with Russia. Nersēs had promised to supply Russian advance troops with two months' worth of provisions, but when they arrived there was no food for them. Once he arrived at Etchmiadzin he took control of the Holy See and his actions left the Synod with no authority and Etchmiadzin in desperate need of reorganization, *ibid.*, (doc. 214), 258-262.

<sup>2</sup> *SAAN*, I, 285.

## 321

*Nersēs of Ashtarak to Khach'atur Lazarev*  
(12 September 1828)<sup>1</sup>

My lord, the noble Aqa Khach'atur, son of Hovakim.

I arrived here in Odessa on the tenth of this month and am in good health. I am to proceed to Kishinev,<sup>2</sup> where I shall await the wishes of His Excellency, General Alexander Khristoforovich Benkendorf,<sup>3</sup> whom we have also informed of our arrival.

Starting in Tailan I was thrice seized by fever, but with God's help it lifted upon our arrival here and I now feel fine. I hope to see you, if the Lord wills it.

Nersēs, Archbishop of Armenians in Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

## 322

*General Pankrat'ev to General Paskevich*  
(7 October 1828)<sup>5</sup>

The main reason for the immigration of the Armenians from Azerbaijan to our provinces was their desire to escape the oppression of a

<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA*, Fund 880/5, file 25, folio 62, written in Odessa.

<sup>2</sup> The main city of Bessarabia, Kishinev became the capital of Moldavian SSR and today, called Chisinau, is the capital of the Republic of Moldova.

<sup>3</sup> A. K. Benkendorf (1781-1844) was a high official who was trusted by Tsar Nicholas and was one of the founders of the Third Section.

<sup>4</sup> Although Nersēs must have known that he was being pushed out of Transcaucasia, he has, in this letter, still kept his title. On 1 November and 15 November of that year the minister of finance, E. F. Kankrin, informed the treasury of Bessarabia that a house in Kishinev should be prepared for Nersēs for his private use for as long as he retained his post. Nersēs was also to receive the annual salary of the previous prelate (12,000 *levs*). A house in the port of Ismail was also designated as the property of the Armenian Church, *SAAN*, I, 286-287. Since the diocese of Astrakhan was not capable of administering the increased numbers of Armenians in the Russian Empire, on 30 April 1830, Tsar Nicholas created a new diocese for the provinces of Novorossiisk and Bessarabia. The diocese was to supervise the communities in New Nakhichevan, Grigoriopol', and Karasubazar. To support the new diocese the tsar presented it with the income from 2,000 *desiatins* of land near Akerman in Bessarabia, *ibid.*, I, 289-291. On May 8 of that year Nersēs was confirmed by the senate (order no. 26264) as the prelate of the Nakhichevan and Bessarabia diocese, *ibid.*, I, 291-292.

<sup>5</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 625), 650.

government, that generally does not care about its subjects, especially the Christians. The Armenians, reassured by Your Excellency, almost all, without exception, rushed to put themselves under Russian protection. Having witnessed their flight, I am convinced that they voluntarily and knowingly left their native land to find better living condition. They were content that Your Excellency supplied them with subsidies through Colonel Lazarev and other officers, who were, for the most part, Armenians. I do not think the Armenians of Azerbaijan knew of the high position of Lazarev's family or that of Argutinskii and others, who worked diligently and made great sacrifices to carry out the orders of Your Excellency....

## 323

*Report on the Armenians of Turkey and Persia*(26 October 1828)<sup>1</sup>

The theater of war in Asiatic Turkey is on the territory of the other Armenia [Western Armenia]. The following information may prove useful to Russia:

1) The pashalik of Bayazid consists of the cities of Bayazid, Diadin, Alashkert (or Toprak-Kale), Melizgerd (Malazgert or Manzikert), and some villages. The total Armenian population of the pashalik reaches 20,000 households.

2) The pashalik of Vaspurakan [Van], which includes the ancient city of Van and some villages, has around 25,000 Armenian households.

3) The pashalik of Mush, near Van, has 15,000 households.

The total of the three pashaliks is some 60,000 Armenian households, of which, according to both the Armenian catholicos and Archbishop Nersēs, half or more than half shall voluntarily cross into the new Armenian province.

4) The pashalik of Kars, due to its fortress and closeness to our border, as well as its large Armenian population, should be annexed and become part of the Armenian province. The Arax River shall be the new border.

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<sup>1</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 4481, ff. 14-15. The report was submitted by Colonel Skalon, the head of the general staff of the Russian army in Kishinev.

5) The pashalik of Akhaltsikhe, belonging to Georgia, Somkhet'i, and Armenia, is populated by Georgians and Armenians. Its location mandates that it be part of Russia and join either Georgia or Somkhet'i. Moreover, in order to maintain peace in the region, the fortresses of P'ot'i and Anapa have to be forever part of Russia.

News from Persia [received from Tehran and Isfahan] is that 'Abbās Mīrzā, after conferring with his father, is on his way to St. Petersburg to seek an audience with His Majesty. The purpose of the visit is unknown, but rumor has it that he plans to beg His Majesty to return the lost provinces of Persia, or at least to forgo the remainder owed of the from 16 million rubles in indemnity payments. If His Majesty decides to be generous, then I suggest that we request that the district of Mākū, which is a natural frontier and part of Mt. Ararat, be transferred to Russia. The region has great strategic value for us and is of little value to Persia.<sup>1</sup>

## 324

*Count Nessel'rode's Report on the Armenian Church*  
(25 December 1828)<sup>2</sup>

State Secretary Bludov<sup>3</sup> has submitted General Paskevich's report regarding the departure of Nersēs and the need to establish order at

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<sup>1</sup> On 16 October 1828, Paskevich wrote the following report to Diebitsch, "If the pashaliks of Bayazid, Kars, and Akhaltsikhe remain in Russia, then we shall not need Sardārābād; Gumri will need only small fortifications as a post of Kars, Tsalku will not need to be enlarged, and Erevan can be left in the same condition it is now. If we have to return them to the Porte, then Erevan must be fortified. Sardārābād, or another location around Mt. Ararat, such as Kulb, on the road to Bayazid, or Talin, on the road to Kars, has to be fortified as well. Instead of minor fortifications, Gumri will need a fortress and Tsalku has to be enlarged. Although Ĵālāl-oĝlī is far from the border, I nevertheless think that it, as well as Tiflis, should be strengthened," *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4518, f. 19. On 12 January 1829, Pantkrat'ev wrote to Paskevich that the Armenians and Yezidi Kurds who lived in the vicinity of the Tigris River in south-eastern Turkey had expressed their loyalty to Russia, *TSGIA*, record group 1018/3, file 104. F.1. On 31 December 1829, Pankrat'ev wrote to Paskevich that 560 families of Armenian Catholics from Erzerum wished to emigrate to Russia, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 2254, ff. 6-7. Other Armenians from Erzerum and Kars also left with the Russian troops, *ibid.*, ff. 103-104, and file 4488, ff. 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 215), 262-263.

Etchmiadzin. I have begun to collect all the necessary material in the archives of the foreign ministry regarding Etchmiadzin. I think that it is imperative that Nersēs be left in Bessarabia under a benevolent pretext and that his correspondence be kept under surveillance. General Paskevich has received a letter from the Armenian hierarchy, warning that we should also keep an eye on the correspondence of Bishop Hovhannēs and Vardapet Alamdarov. The former was elevated to the rank of bishop by Nersēs and was appointed as the administrator of Etchmiadzin, and the latter was made a vardapet over the head of the Georgian hierarchy....<sup>1</sup>

## 325

*Archbishop Hovhannēs<sup>2</sup> to General Paskevich*  
(1829)<sup>3</sup>

Before Archbishop Nersēs left Tiflis for Bessarabia, he gave the administration of the Armenian Church in Georgia to Vardapet Alamdarov and Bishop Simēon. He selected his own church wardens for each Armenian church and instructed them to give all the income of their churches to Alamdarov or Simēon, who would send it to Nersēs in Bessarabia.

In 1827, after Etchmiadzin was liberated by Russian troops, Nersēs did away with most members of the Synod and put his own men in charge. Archbishop Hovhannēs, because of his age and the respect of all, was the only former member left in the Synod. To curtail his actions, however, Nersēs appointed Vardapet Hovsēp' as the chief of the Synod and instructed him to use an *iron rod*.

...Alamdarov and Simēon have been collecting great sums of money from the Armenians of Georgia, Karabagh, Nukha, and Eli-

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<sup>3</sup> D. N. Bludov was assistant minister of public education from 1826 to 1828. He was in charge of the Ministry of Justice from 1830 to 1831.

<sup>1</sup> On 5 January 1829, Paskevich informed Bludov that Nersēs' ultimate aim was to become the catholicos and that he had convinced Ep'rem that he was the best candidate and had influence in Russia. It seems that Ep'rem was ready to ask His Majesty to appoint Nersēs as the next catholicos, *ibid.*, (doc. 219), 264.

<sup>2</sup> Prelate of the Armenians in Georgia, the future Catholicos Hovhannēs.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 227), 278-279.

savetpol'. It is said that they have sent most of it to Nersēs and have kept the rest. They have appointed monks in Gori and Kakhet'i and other places who are behaving unethically and refusing to provide *muṛon* unless they receive money to send to Nersēs' successors in Tiflis. Vardapet Hovsēp', in the meantime, rules the catholicos and the Synod and frequently uses his "iron rod" on those who do not follow his will. The catholicos signs all the papers put in front of him. Etchmiadzin does not receive any funds from Georgia, Russia, or even India, and cannot pay its debts or expenses. Since Nersēs cannot return to Tiflis or travel to St. Petersburg he has begun a campaign of petitions and has convinced the catholicos to ask for him....

I suggest that Nersēs be left in Bessarabia and that a bishop from Etchmiadzin be appointed to succeed the late prelate of the Armenians in Russia....<sup>1</sup>

## 326

*General Paskevich to Catholicos Ep'rem*(12 February 1829)<sup>2</sup>

The village of Kulb has been affected by a deadly epidemic and has been placed under quarantine. The administration of the Armenian province informs me that a bishop and a vardapet from Etchmiadzin

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<sup>1</sup> On 26 December, Paskevich wrote a secret memorandum to Bludov informing him of Nersēs' efforts to return to Etchmiadzin and stating that he favored Archbishop Hovhannēs. He added that the catholicos had selected Archbishop Barsegh to replace the late archbishop of Astrakhan. Paskevich suggested that Bludov, through State Counselor Dashkov, inform the catholicos that His Majesty wished that another person be appointed and that he [Paskevich] be consulted in this matter. Furthermore, he said, Nersēs continued to sign his letters as Archbishop of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Georgia, and Russia, and measures must be taken to curtail his actions and those of his appointees in Georgia and Etchmiadzin. He concluded that 1) Nersēs should be limited to the Bessarabian diocese; 2) Archbishop Hovhannēs of Karbi should be appointed as the prelate of Georgia and Russia; 3) Alamdarov and Simēon should be removed from any position of authority; 4) The collective power of the Synod should be restored and Vardapet Hovsēp' sent to a Transcaucasian province; and 5) One of the following be appointed to the post of archbishop of Astrakhan: Step'an of Smyrna, Vardapet Hovhannēs of Crimea, Vardapet Emanuēl, or Vardapet Serafim (all recommended by Hovhannēs of Karbi) *ibid.*, (doc 228), 280-282

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 447), 494.



have entered that village carrying the Holy Spear and stating that they were sent by Your Holiness to eradicate the plague. Upon their arrival the entire village went into a frenzy, which resulted in the sick and the healthy mixing together. Your Holiness will admit that this is against the quarantine regulations and no one has the right to go against the laws of His Majesty. If the local administration had knowledge of this they would have made special preparations for those afflicted to be blessed by the spear and thus avoid the disorder which followed. I ask you, archpastor, that in the future such things be coordinated with the local administration....

## 327

*General Paskevich to Count Chernyshev*<sup>1</sup>  
(16 March 1829)<sup>2</sup>

In my report of 23 February I informed you of my wish to form four Muslim regiments.

I also wrote about the formation of a Kurdish regiment in Bayazid. In order to strengthen the defenses of the fortress of Bayazid, I propose that we establish an Armenian militia battalion of five hundred men. The melik of the battalion shall receive 20 rubles, the four sultans will receive 10 rubles each, and the rest 2 rubles a month....<sup>3</sup>

## 328

*General Paskevich to the Administration of the Armenian Province*  
(4 May 1829)<sup>4</sup>

Your inquiry of 6 April asked if Armenian monasteries in Nakhichevan, who have fields ploughed by monks or by rented labor, should pay taxes in cash and kind to the treasury....

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<sup>1</sup> A. I. Chernyshev was one of the chief officials at the war ministry from 1828 to 1832.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 17358, f. 5.

<sup>3</sup> On 4 April, Zavileiskii, an official of the civilian governor of Georgia, proposed to General Osten-Saken that Armenian and Georgian volunteer guerrilla units be formed, TSGIA-Gruz, record group 548/2 file 519, f. 17.

<sup>4</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 225), 277.

I find that collecting taxes from monasteries for using their own fields is against our regulations, and is indecent. However, if the said monks are using state lands for agricultural purposes then they have to pay the necessary taxes to the treasury....

## 329

*General Paskevich to Count Chernyshev*

(6 January 1830)<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency informs me that His Majesty wished that I name the governor of the Armenian Province. On 2 January, I had the honor to inform you that I had chosen Major General Prince Bebutov, for I find him able to carry out the duties of governor of the Armenian province. I request that you ask His Majesty to approve his appointment.<sup>2</sup>

## 330

*General Argutinskii-Dolgorukov to General Paskevich*

(January 1830)<sup>3</sup>

The commander of the regiment at Bayazid, General Reutt', reported on 20 December that the Armenians of the town of Bayazid, comprised of 1,143 families have asked to move to the Armenian province and have requested lands in the *maḥals* of Talin, Darachichak, and Aparan. Some 2,000 Armenians living in the province of Bayazid have requested to settle in Karabagh.

I had the honor to report last November 19 that the above three above named *maḥals* cannot sustain more than 800 families and that the only place left in the Armenian province suitable for settlement is in the Gokchay *maḥal* where one could put all the Armenians of the city, as well as the province, of Bayazid....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 452), 497.

<sup>2</sup> On 18 April, Bebutov submitted his report on conditions in the Armenian province and on his administrative plans, *ibid.*, (doc. 454), 497-502.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 2254, f. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Having learned of the above, the Armenians of Bayazid requested that Paskevich permit them to settle in the Gökchay *maḥal*, around Lake Sevan. Paskevich granted their wish and the town they founded became known as Novo Bayazit/New Bayazid

## 331

*Prince Bebutov to General Paskevich*(19 October 1830)<sup>1</sup>

The resignation of Catholicos Ep'rem has forced the members of the Synod to seek candidates for a successor....The nine members began conferring in my presence and agreed that whoever is elected has to be acceptable both to the Etchmiadzin hierarchy and to the Armenian secular leadership....

The candidates being considered by the Synod are:

The patriarch of Constantinople was out of the question, not because of his youth, but because of problems with the Turkish government and the ill effect it might have on the Armenians in Turkey. If they nominated the patriarch of Constantinople and he was not elected, then they might have trouble getting the sultan's confirmation for anyone else, which would totally hinder the new catholicos's relations with the Armenians in Turkey....

Among the senior clergy at Etchmiadzin, Archbishops Martiros and Hovhannēs of Karbi, the prelate of the Armenians in Georgia, are the most qualified. Martiros is too old (76), not in good health, and can barely leave his room. Hovhannēs is 60 and is highly regarded in his diocese and at Etchmiadzin. Although there was some talk of nominating Nersēs, no one voted for him. They blamed him for the problems that occurred between Daniēl and Dawit'. Apparently Nersēs was with Daniel in Bayazid, and against Etchmiadzin's regulations, consecrated him as catholicos when Dawit' was already anointed at Etchmiadzin. This act caused terrible problems for the Church and divided the Armenian people. Nersēs was the primary instigator of the shaving of Dawit' and the torture of his followers. Due to Daniēl's weakness, Nersēs took over Etchmiadzin and abused its funds. He then left for Georgia as the prelate there and left the See with great debts. Finally since His Majesty did not accept Catholicos Ep'rem's petition to ap-

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(Gavar), *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 2254, 37-43, 193 A few others settled in the *maḥals* of Surmalu, Sardārābād, and Karbi-Basar, *ibid*, f. 101.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 240), 295-296 [confidential report].

point Nersēs as his successor, the members of the Synod felt that there was no point in nominating him....

In my opinion it would be better if the Armenian secular leaders be barred forever from the election process. Tradition has it that the Armenian clerics and secular leaders of the various communities are asked for their opinion. Although generally this process is smooth, it has caused problems in the past. Self-serving priests and their supporters have used this process to make gains for themselves. This was especially true during the Persian rule, when meliks, yūzbaşıs, and khans decided the outcome. Now that Etchmiadzin is under our rule there is no need for meliks and yūzbaşıs to involve themselves in this process. Terminating this custom will stop intrigues and, as far as I can tell, will be welcomed by the religious hierarchy....<sup>1</sup>

## 332

*General Paskevich to Counselor Bludov*(9 November 1830)<sup>2</sup>

There has been conflict between members of the Evangelical order in Shushi and the Armenian Church. The Evangelicals who were there to educate Muslim youth have apparently converted two Armenian deacons. The catholicos and the Synod were informed and have strong objections [they sent the deacons under guard to Tiflis]....The leader of the Evangelicals, Zaremba, has written to the military governor of Georgia for assistance in this matter. We have to determine the right of the Evangelicals to convert other Christians, specifically Armenians. On the one hand we do not want to offend the Armenian clergy, on the other hand we need to educate our youth. I, therefore, ask Your

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<sup>1</sup> On the same day Bebutov wrote another report to Paskevich informing him that Alamdarov had arrived from Tiflis with a request from the Armenian citizens to elevate him to the rank of bishop for his services. The catholicos, however, had refused, because Alamdarov was too young and had to be nominated by the archbishop of Tiflis, Hovhannēs of Karbi, and not by secular leaders, *AKAK*, VII (doc. 241) 296-297. On 9 November, Paskevich wrote to Bludov to examine Bebutov's proposal of terminating the role of Armenian secular leaders in the election process, *ibid.*, (doc. 243), 298.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 244), 298.

Excellency to look into establishing regulations for the activities of such missionaries in this region....<sup>1</sup>

## 333

*General Paskevich to Catholicos Ep'rem*(28 January 1831)<sup>2</sup>

His Majesty, having been told of your resignation, asks if it would not be advisable to immediately invite the Armenian bishops from Georgia and other provinces to Etchmiadzin to nominate your successor....

I have dispatched the Archbishop of Astrakhan, Serafim, to you with the following instructions from His Majesty: After the religious hierarchy gathers at Etchmiadzin from Russia and Transcaucasia, you shall tell them that they have to limit your choice to two final candidates. Their choice should be unanimous. His Majesty will then choose and confirm one of the two candidates to assume this lofty position.....<sup>3</sup>

## 334

*General Paskevich to Counselor Bludov*(27 April 1831)<sup>4</sup>

On 15 March the Armenian Church hierarchy gathered at Etchmiadzin to select candidates for the position of catholicos. Old Ep'rem opened the meeting with a speech by stating the reasons for his abdication. Two candidates, Archbishop Martiros and Archbishop Hovhannēs of

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<sup>1</sup> Bludov's response (20 February) stated that Tsar Alexander had permitted the missionaries to come to Russia and that if Armenian deacons wished to leave their Church, the Armenian clergy had no right to stop them, *ibid.*, (doc. 250), 304-306. Documents 255 and 256, pp. 308-310, continue with this matter, which is not resolved and continues to be a problem throughout the 1830s, as demonstrated by documents cited below.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 249), 304 [confidential communiqué].

<sup>3</sup> The numerous documents in AKAK VII indicate that the Russian administration was seriously considering putting checks on the independence of the Armenian Church; see especially Paskevich's notes on this matter in *ibid.*, (doc. 246), 302-303.

<sup>4</sup> AKAK, VII (doc. 254), 308 [confidential report].

Tiflis, were selected....Supporters of Nersēs who had come from Tiflis tried to cause a commotion but did not succeed.

The names of the two candidates were immediately sent to all regions inhabited by Armenians. I gather, from reports submitted to me, that the Armenians unanimously wish Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis to be their next catholicos. In any event, Martiros is old and sick and will probably not accept the position if offered....<sup>1</sup>

## 335

*General Pankrat'ev to Colonel Eḥsān Khan*<sup>2</sup>  
(11 June 1831)<sup>3</sup>

The administration of the Armenian province has sent me a report that your wife, Bender Nīsā Kānūm, punished the Armenian Tsatur for stealing grain. Witnesses, as well as the medic, attest that he died as a result of that punishment.

Your Excellency is in the service of the Russian tsar and should know that our laws deal severely with those accused of murder. Hence, this affair had to be carefully examined by the administration. Your services to us and to His Majesty however, forced me to intercede with the administration and the matter is now closed.

The administration and myself, however, feel that it would be fair for you to grant a subsidy to the orphans of poor Tsatur. Thus you shall end this matter in an amicable way. I am sure that because of your personal friendship with me, you will take my advice. After all, your wife took matters into her own hands and, instead of calling the police, had her own people inflict punishment. Please keep me informed.

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<sup>1</sup> Hovhannēs of Karbi was elected and served until his death in 1842. He was asked by the Russians to nominate two candidates to succeed him as archbishop of Tiflis--it was now evident that Russia was to have a say in nominations for major Armenian Church positions, *ibid.*, (doc. 257), 310.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan and governor of Ordubad from 1822.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VII (doc. 457), 503.

## 336

*Tsar Nicholas to Catholicos Ep'rem*  
(20 June 1831)<sup>1</sup>

The governor-general of Georgia has informed Us that your age and ill health has precluded you from retaining the position of the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenians.<sup>2</sup> Much to Our regret, We have accepted your decision and have chosen a successor, one of the two candidates elected by the brotherhood of Etchmiadzin, Archbishop Hovhannēs. For your services rendered to Us and to your Church We award you the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called and permit you to wear its cross.

We wish you a long life and assure you that you shall participate in any future decisions regarding the Armenian Church.

## 337

*Tsar Nicholas to Catholicos Hovhannēs*  
(30 June 1831)<sup>3</sup>

I confirm you as the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church. We are aware of the services you have rendered to Our Empire during your tenure in Georgia. Since We especially favor Our Armenian subjects, we award you the Order of St. Alexander Nevskii and permit you to wear its badge. We do not doubt that in your new position you shall continue to serve your Church and Our Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> SAAN, I, 306-307. The decree was written in Peterhof (Petrodvorets).

<sup>2</sup> See Bebutov's report to Paskevich on 19 October 1830, AKAK, VII, (doc. 239), 293. Ep'rem's letter of resignation to the Synod is in 294-295. Paskevich's confidential report to Bludov is in *ibid.*, (doc. 243), 298.

<sup>3</sup> SAAN, I, 307-308.

## 338

*Tsar Nicholas to Archbishop Martiros*<sup>1</sup>(30 June 1831)<sup>2</sup>

In demonstrating Our favor and for the services you have rendered the Armenian Church, we award you the Order of St. Anne, First Class, the badge of which you are permitted to wear.

## 339

*Tsar Nicholas to Archbishop Serafim*<sup>3</sup>(30 June 1831)<sup>4</sup>

In demonstrating Our favor for the loyalty you have displayed to Our Empire, witnessed by General Field-Marshal Count Paskevich-Erevanski, we award you the Order of St. Anne, First Class, the badge of which you may display.

## 340

*Tsar Nicholas to Catholicos Ep'rem*(1 July 1831)<sup>5</sup>

To Our beloved Ep'rem, the former catholicos in Etchmiadzin, and to the archbishops, bishops, vardapets, the [rest of the] brotherhood of Etchmiadzin, and the entire Armenian Church hierarchy [in the Russian Empire], as well as honorable meliks, yūzbaşıs, and other administrators of the Armenian people, Our Imperial greetings.

In 1822,<sup>6</sup> our beloved Catholicos Ep'rem wished to be relieved of his title and duties. Our Brother, Emperor Alexander I, did not consent, however.

In 1828, His Holiness Ep'rem wrote to Us requesting that he be permitted to resign as the head of the Armenian Church. We asked

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<sup>1</sup> The brotherhood elected Martiros as the deputy of the Holy See.

<sup>2</sup> *SAAN*, I, 308-309.

<sup>3</sup> Serafim was the prelate of the Astrakhan Diocese; see document 333.

<sup>4</sup> *SAAN*, I, 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 310-312.

<sup>6</sup> The text has 1812, an obvious error.



that he continue in his position for a while longer and [in 1830] General Field Marshal Count Paskevich-Erevanskii informed Us that Ep'rem had resigned due to ill health, for he could not perform two of his most important functions, the preparation of the sacred *muṛon* and the appointment of bishops. We, with regret, granted his wish and agreed that the Armenian religious and lay hierarchy of the territories under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin, should gather and elect a successor. On 16 March the assembly, composed of the Etchmiadzin brotherhood, as well as honorable meliks, *yüzbaşıs*, and other respected individuals, elected two candidates, Archbishop Martiros, the deputy catholicos, and Archbishop Hovhannēs of Georgia. We have decided to confirm Archbishop Hovhannēs as the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian people and permit Patriarch Ep'rem to consecrate him with holy oil. We also declare that Ep'rem, although ill, has served the people of Haik<sup>1</sup> well and should remain at the Holy See and assist the catholicos in his duties. We once more, repeat Our favorable disposition to the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, vardapets, meliks....

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<sup>1</sup> Haik (Hayk) is the legendary heroic ancestor of the Armenians.



**VIII**  
**(November 1831-February 1837)**

341

***Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov***

(19 November 1831)<sup>1</sup>

On 5 November, I had the honor to inform you that I, together with Major General Prince Bebutov, the military commander of the Armenian province, where Etchmiadzin is located, Archbishop Serafim, State Counselor Vlangali, and Prince Palavandov witnessed the anointment of Catholicos Hovhannēs.

Bebutov informs me that on 7 November, at 5 p.m., the catholicos, in the presence of Bebutov, the administrative chiefs of the province, and the religious hierarchy, took the preliminary oath at the cathedral of Etchmiadzin. On 8 November, at 10 a.m. the catholicos, attended by senior Armenian clerics, Armenian lay chiefs from the entire Armenian province, and military and civil officials, took part in a liturgy where His Majesty's confirmation was read in both Russian and Armenian. Following that, according to ancient Armenian custom, Hovhannēs was anointed anew and consecrated as the Catholicos of All Armenians. The Caucasian Grenadiers fired a 101-round salute.

Following the ceremony, the catholicos returned to his quarters, where he was greeted by the previous catholicos, Ep'rem, who, due to illness and old age could not attend the ceremony. Ep'rem prayed for the health and long life of His Imperial Majesty and His family, and then hung the *panagia* of the catholicos around Hovhannēs's neck and put the ring on his finger. In conclusion, everyone congratulated the new catholicos.

On the same day, a lunch and dinner was provided by the state for three hundred people, including military and civilian officials, re-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 176), 262-263.

spected citizens from both the Armenian and Tatar communities, and the Etchmiadzin religious hierarchy. At night the monastery of Etchmiadzin was illuminated and fireworks depicted the name of His Majesty. In the hall where the dinner was served, a giant banner depicting the insignia of the catholicos was placed with the names of Ep'rem and Hovhannēs on the corners and the initials of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, with the double-headed eagle in the center.

Archbishop Serafim, Counselor Vlangali, and Prince Palavandov also informed me that Armenian representatives from different countries all expressed their joy and admiration and pointed out that the previous catholicos, Ep'rem, received consecration on 8 November, twenty-one years ago [to the day].

## 342

*Prince Bebutov to Baron Rosen*(21 November 1831)<sup>1</sup>

In completing General Pankrat'ev's report of 25 August on the journey to Ararat by Professor Parrot of Dorpat University, I am including the notes of Alexei Zdorovenko and Matvei Chalpanov, soldiers from the 41st Jäger unit, as well as those from the elder of the village of Akhuri, Melik Step'an Agha, and inhabitants from the same village, Murad Pōghosean and Hovhannēs Aivazeian, submitted by the city police of Erevan:

*Statements of Zdorovenko and Chalpanov:*

1) Together with Professor Parrot, we ascended the top of Mt. Ararat in September 1829--I do not remember which day.

2) Our journey began at the monastery of St. Gregory at the foot of Mt. Ararat.

3) The journey took three days. On the first day we reached the snow line, on the second [after ascending the summit] we returned once more to where the snow level started, and on the third day we returned to the monastery.

4) We reached the summit at 2 p.m., stayed approximately two hours there and descended.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 386) 503-504.

5) We returned to the monastery when it was still light, about an hour and a half prior to sunset.

6) On the summit we placed a medium-sized wooden cross in the ice, measuring some one and a half *arshins* from the snow level.

7) Parrot paid us a golden ruble each for the entire journey and our commander paid us 10 silver rubles each when we returned to Erevan.<sup>1</sup>

## 343

*Baron Rosen to General Pankrat'ev*(24 November 1831)<sup>2</sup>

In your report of 14 September to the General Staff of His Imperial Majesty, you detail the awkward situation between the Armenian catholicos and the ministry in charge of foreign [non-Orthodox] faiths. You add that the Armenian clergy are more interested in their own profit and that they are attempting to be totally independent from our administration. You cite the behavior of Archbishop Nersēs as an example of this problem....

Since you are not the only one who has complained about Archbishop Nersēs' actions, I presume that you have some incriminating documents against Nersēs in your possession. I, myself, could not find anything that suggested that he was acting against our administration or was in communication with foreigners during his stay in Tiflis. The Armenians here are too devoted to him to supply me with anything, so I request that you forward whatever documentation you have to me....

## 344

*Baron Rosen to Count Chernyshev*(26 November 1831)<sup>3</sup>

General Pankrat'ev, in his report of 14 September, expresses concern regarding the relations between the Ministry of Non-Orthodox Religions and the Armenian catholicos. He suggests that His Imperial Maj-

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<sup>1</sup> The report of Melik Step'an, giving the same details, is also included.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 177) 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 178), 263.

esty order that the Armenian prelate in Georgia be appointed after consultation with the chief administrator of Georgia. The said administrator is familiar with the conditions of his region, is acquainted with the clergy, and can correct any irregularities....

I am in full agreement with Pankrat'ev's suggestion and add that most Church appointments here are regulated by intrigues and bribes. I suggest that His Majesty instruct the Ministry of Non-Orthodox Religions not to deal directly with the Armenian catholicos, but to do so through the Caucasian administration....<sup>1</sup>

## 345

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Rodofinikin*(12 December 1831)<sup>2</sup>

In my dispatch of 2 December I had the honor to inform you that I was returning the various instructions from and letters of investiture of the Armenian Catholicoi Ep'rem and Hovhannēs to Etchmiadzin, to be sent from there to Constantinople. I was deterred from that, however, when I received the following information from Constantinople, which I am forwarding to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An inhabitant of Constantinople, Hovhannēs Melik-Atamov, arrived here and informed me that, although the Holy See of Etchmiadzin is respected by all the Armenian people, and that the catholicos has great influence over them, the Turkish Armenians abstain from recognizing the

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<sup>1</sup> On 26 January 1832, Bludov wrote to Rosen that Catholicoi Ep'rem and Hovhannēs had requested that the tsar permit them to name their own bishops and vardapets without the approval of the head of the local administration. The tsar granted them their wish regarding appointments of senior clergy outside Russia. Inside the Russian Empire, they had to submit names of candidates to the head of the local administration who would forward them to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, who would then submit them to the tsar for his confirmation, *ibid.*, (doc. 186), 268-269. On 28 September 1833 Rosen wrote to Bludov (confidential report) that Catholicoi Hovhannēs wished to appoint priests from among tax-paying citizens, without the permission of the senate. The reason cited was the lack of educated Armenian priests. Rosen added that there were plenty of Armenian priests and that the law of 27 August 1830 (PZSR, V, no. 3878) specifically forbade tax-paying citizens from becoming priests without the permission of the senate. On 26 February 1834, Hovhannēs' request was denied by senate decree (*ibid.*, no. 13639).

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 179), 263-264.

catholicos because they fear that the sultan will accuse them of being loyal to Russia. The Porte, he stated, has been paying special attention to those who come to Constantinople from Etchmiadzin. Melik-Atamov added that when Ep'rem was anointed and sent two senior clerics carrying his instructions to the people of Constantinople, the Armenians there petitioned the sultan to expel them, for they came from a man who was a Russian subject and the former archbishop of Astrakhan.

Thus, if the Turkish Armenians were afraid to recognize a catholicos who was a Russian subject when Etchmiadzin was under Persian rule, now that Etchmiadzin is under our control and the election of the catholicos is decided by the will of His Majesty and without the agreement of the sultan, they will not acknowledge the catholicos for fear of being accused as traitors by the Ottoman Porte....

From the above it seems to me that this is not the right time to send letters and representatives until we know the opinion of the Ottoman divan (chancery). We cannot risk losing our political reputation if perchance the Ottoman Porte reacts negatively to an appointment by His Imperial Majesty....<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 21 December, Bludov sent an express confidential memo to Rosen stating that Hovhannēs was determined to send an archbishop to Constantinople to announce his enthronement and give instructions. He added that Butenev, the Russian envoy at the Porte, agreed with the Armenians of Constantinople that it would be better not to create problems by sending Armenian clerics from Etchmiadzin. Since, unlike in former times, only Russia confirmed the catholicos [Etchmiadzin was now part of Russia], Turkish and Persian Armenians who wished to deal with Etchmiadzin would have to do so via the Russian missions in Constantinople and Tehran, *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 180) 264. On 28 December, Bludov wrote to Catholicos Hovhannēs stating that Butenev and Bezak' (a Russian envoy in Persia) had spoken to the Armenian religious leaders there and had received assurances that they acknowledge the catholicos as their superior; hence there was no need to send archbishops as ambassadors of the Holy See, *ibid.*, (doc. 182), 266-267. On 11 January 1832, the foreign minister, Nessel'rode, wrote to Rosen instructing him to tell Etchmiadzin not to send senior clergy to Constantinople or other cities in the Ottoman Empire, *ibid.*, (doc. 184), 268. On 25 November 1833, Butenev wrote a confidential memo to Rodofinikin in which he stated that he had, through the Russian commercial attaché, Zakharov, succeeded in meeting with the head of the Armenian *amiras* and the chief of the Turkish mint, who had good relations with the sultan. He added that the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Jerusalem were told by the *amira* that there was no reason to fear relations with Etchmiadzin. Both were told that diamond crosses had been pre-

## 346

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov*(24 December 1831)<sup>1</sup>

The previous catholicos, using his own funds, wishes to erect a monument to those who fell in the defense of Etchmiadzin on 17 August 1827. He requests our approval.

I cannot disagree with the wishes of Catholicos Ep'rem, especially since he is acclaimed as a *saint* in these parts. The monument will be the culmination of the respect which he himself has earned.<sup>2</sup>

## 347

*Counselor Bludov to Baron Rosen*(25 February 1832)<sup>3</sup>

I have the honor to report that the Ministry of Finance, on His Majesty's order, has asked me to examine the petition of Catholicos Ep'rem and Hovhannēs for a loan of 50,000 rubles for five years, without interest, to pay the debts of Etchmiadzin.

The minister of finance states that the State Loan Bank does not give money without charging interest. He also adds that due to their special situation, mortgages from Georgia, Bessarabia, and the Armenian province are not acceptable. To repay the loan with cotton or grain would be inconvenient, as prices fluctuate and various taxes are already collected in kind by the Erevan administration. The minister of finance can, therefore, not consent to the loan. His Majesty, after hearing the report of the minister of finance, ordered me to inform Your Excellency that you will have to find another way to resolve Etchmiadzin's financial dilemma....

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pared for them in Russia and that, although the Porte had ordered them not to associate with Etchmiadzin during the last war [1828-1829], efforts were being made by the Russians to soften the objections of the Porte, *ibid.*, (doc. 195), 277.

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 387), 504.

<sup>2</sup> Tsar Nicholas I gave his permission, which was communicated by Bludov to Rosen on 26 January 1832. The monument was erected in 1834 (the architect was Kompaneiskii), a photograph depicting it is in *Rus nkarich'neri ach'gerov* (Erevan, 1978), plate 30.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 188), 269.



## 348

*Survey of the Armenian Province*  
(May 1832)<sup>1</sup>

*Erevan:*

The city of Erevan has 2,705 households and three *maḥalles* (quarters or neighborhoods): Shahri, Tapabashi, and Demir-Bulagh. The population of the city [and fortress] is 11,463, of which 7,331 are Muslim and 4,132 are Armenians; of the latter, 1,763 have arrived after the Russian conquest [February 1828]. The khanate of Erevan has fifteen *maḥals*: Kırk-Bulagh, Zangi-basar, Garni-basar, Vedi-basar, Sharur, Surmalu, Darakend-Parchenis, Sa'dlu, Talin, Sardārābād, Karbi-basar, Aparan, Darachichak, Sayyidli-Akhsakhli, and Gokchay. There are 7,392 Muslim households and 10,787 Armenian households (of which 7,856 arrived after the Russian conquest) in the *maḥals*.<sup>2</sup> There are seven Armenian churches, seven mosques, and seven caravansaries, six *meydāns*, and 851 stores. There are 193 Armenian clerics in the khanate. Taxes collected in the last year of Persian rule: 170,000 *tomāns*.<sup>3</sup>

*Nakhichevan:*

City: 905 Muslim households, for a total of 3,641 people, and 451 Armenians households, for a total of 1,829 people (1,110 Armenians came after 1828).

Five *maḥals*: Alinja-chay, Nakhichevan, Mavazikhatun, Khok, and Daralagoz. Muslims: 1,001 households, for a total of 4,583; Armenians: 573 households, for a total of 3,061 (of which 2,773 came after

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<sup>1</sup> The survey was conducted by Ivan Chopin (Shopen) from April 1829 until May 1832. The survey and other material was published as *Istoricheskii pamiatnik sos-toianniia Armianskoi Oblasti v epokhu eia prisoedineniia Rossiiskoi Imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1852). For an annotated translation of material relating to Erevan, see G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, 1992). The information here is condensed from tables in both these sources.

<sup>2</sup> It is estimated that by 1832 some 25,000 Muslims had left the khanate.

<sup>3</sup> In 1826 7.5 *tomāns* equaled one ruble, but in 1832, 10 *tomāns* equaled a ruble. By 1850, 15 *tomāns* equaled a ruble.

the Russian conquest). One Armenian church and 46 clerics in the city.

*Ordubad:*

City: 767 Muslim families, for a total of 3,262, and only 36 Armenian families from Persia (182 people). One Armenian church and 22 clerics in the city.

*Mahals:* Ordubad, Akulis, Dastin, B'lev, Chinanap, with a total of 908 Muslim households and 3,985 individuals, and 650 Armenian households, with 3,728 people, of which 1,340 came after the conquest.

There are more than 250 Armenian churches in the Armenian province.

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*Counselor Bludov to Baron Rosen*

(29 October 1832)<sup>1</sup>

At the end of 1830 and the beginning of 1831 Count Paskevich informed me of problems between the members of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society and the Armenian Church in the fortress of Shushi. He expressed concern over the reaction of the Muslims to the activities of the missionaries and the numerous complaints, copies of which he submitted, from the Armenian clergy against the missionaries....<sup>2</sup>

I promised the Field Marshal (communiqué no. 434 of 20 February 1831) that I would inform him of the decision of the government....

The minister of public education, Prince Liven, after examining the relevant documents, has come to the conclusion that the missionaries feel that the Armenian people are crude, but if educated, they could be used to spread Christianity among the Muslims. They thus opened a school for Armenian youth in 1827. The teachers were Armenian and the books used were approved by the Armenian clergy. However, since the Ministry of Education did not approve of the school, he suggests that the local administration observe it and report on its curricu-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 189), 269-271.

<sup>2</sup> See AKAK, VII (docs. 235, 237), 290-293

lum. Rumor has it that the missionaries are striving not only to convert the Muslims but the Armenians as well. Although they are committed to education, they may use it for proselytizing....

The Russian state is tolerant to all Christians and treats them equally, as long as members of different Christian sects do not try to advance their beliefs to others. On the one hand, I agree with the Armenian clergy that the missionaries should not involve themselves in the affairs of the Armenian Church, on the other hand, one cannot forbid Armenians from converting to Protestantism, if they wish to do so. There is no concrete evidence that the missionaries are attempting to convert Armenians. Even the Armenian deacons who serve the missionaries have stated that they do not wish to leave the Armenian Church. They do, however, wish to be judged not by their superiors in the Armenian Church but by the chief state authority in Tiflis....

As to the schools operated by the missionaries, the director of the Transcaucasian schools approves of their high quality and the commander of Karabagh, Shirvan, and Sheki provinces states that they are beneficial for the Armenian people. I will thus ask the Committee of Ministers to seek His Majesty's approval to permit the missionaries to operate their schools for Muslim and Armenian youth in Shushi. They will be advised to strictly avoid converting Armenians to the Protestant faith and to appoint two respected Armenians, one lay, the other clergy, to observe the school....

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*Counselor Palavandov to Baron Rosen*

( 3 February 1833)<sup>1</sup>

In observing the immigrants from Turkey and Persia for the past two months, I have come in contact and lived with the various people who inhabit the Armenian province. They are all grateful to His Imperial Majesty for our laws and our protection of personal property. Not one of them, however, expressed satisfaction with the proceedings of the Erevan court. Armenians, Tatars, and both settled and unsettled Kurds stated that the court is too slow in its decisions. Thus most lose hope or patience and drop their cases....

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 388), 504-506.

The first duty of the administration in Erevan was to satisfy the local population. Although most of the population is used to harsh treatment from the previous Turkish or Persian administrators and accept the inadequacies of the present administration, they imagine that the Russian state is responsible for the slow and uneven process of their claims.

The Armenian provincial court consists of a number of units: civilian, criminal, and financial, all of which are combined in one place, and thus they have little time to take care of individual complaints....

1-3) The most important section, the financial, is so overloaded that it cannot move ahead. The constabulary and the chief of *mahāls* are all former inhabitants of the Armenian Province, who receive a salary from the treasury. They not only do not perform their duty but hamper the smooth operation of the administration. Almost all the inhabitants of the Armenian Province have submitted one petition or another and are awaiting some sort of a decision which is not forthcoming since no one seems to be in charge....

4) The court in Erevan, which is under the police chief, is composed of 4 elected elders or *kadkodās* and the city bursar. It is in charge of civil and criminal cases. It is a court in name only. The people do not understand our legal terms or forms and the bursar and police chief can rarely attend....

5)....Only the chief of police is Russian. All his subordinates are local people who do not know our laws or decrees and hence there can be no order. The police chief alone cannot handle all the requests of the citizens as well as the orders of the governor of the province. Hence everything is backlogged and moves extremely slow, causing great dissatisfaction and hurting the image of our government....

6) In the Province of Nakhichevan the court and police are under the local *nā'ib*, Colonel Ehsān Khan, who supervises two Russian officials, a bailiff and a bursar, and four elected elders from the community....

In the Ordubad district there is only the police station run by the *nā'ib* Major Sheikh 'Alī Beg with a number of Russian officials. The main complaint here is that all criminal cases are decided in the court

at Nakhichevan, where the members are all Muslims, and do not understand our system....<sup>1</sup>

## 351

*Baron Rosen to Count Kankrin*<sup>2</sup>  
(9 March 1833)<sup>3</sup>

Anton Chobanov and Oganēs (Hovhannēs) Melik-Atamov from Constantinople and Foma Khanumov from Akhaltsikhe, all of whom are now citizens of Tiflis, have petitioned me to allow them to establish a rum distillery from sugarcane, which grows on the borders of Persia. They asked for a suitable land to grow the said sugar cane and a ten-year monopoly on producing rum. They have transported some of the sugarcane to the Talesh khanate, to grow it there.

I have granted their petitions and have given them a plot of land, large enough for a twenty-day plowing, to plant sugarcane. I have also expressed my wish that a small plot of land be tested in Georgia for that purpose, which they agreed to wholeheartedly.

This may prove a good income for the state. However, I have only granted them a small plot to see what comes of it and have permitted them to plant sugarcane only. If they do not do so I shall take it back. Other Armenians who have expressed their wish to start sugarcane plantations in Transcaucasia can begin once Your Excellency approves the plan....

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<sup>1</sup> On 9 March, Rosen repeated some of the above problems and suggested certain reforms to Count Chernyshev. He also reported that 43,040 silver rubles were allocated for the administrative costs of the Armenian province. In addition the police, court, and bursar's buildings received 1,080 silver rubles in firewood. There were eleven supervisors for the eleven *mahals*, all of whom were recruited from among the native population. They and their *mīrzās* (secretaries) received 3,350 silver rubles, which brought the total to 47,470 rubles. He added that the various districts of the province were a paradox: weather ranged from cold, to mild, to hot; some areas had plenty of water, others had little, still others had none; certain agricultural lands were fertile and could be farmed annually, while others had to lie fallow from two to five years. Bebutov, the chief of the province, had informed Rosen that the taxes had to be adjusted each year to reflect this dichotomy, *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 389), 508-513.

<sup>2</sup> E. F. Kankrin was minister of finance from 1823 to 1844.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 110), 195-196.

## 352

*Register of the St. Petersburg Senate*(25 March 1833)<sup>1</sup>

## Imperial Decree on the Coat of Arms of the Armenian Province

Privy counselor and minister of justice, Dmitrii Vasil'evich Dashkov,<sup>2</sup> presented His Majesty's confirmation, dated 27 February, detailing the coat of arms of the Armenian Province. 1. In the center, on a blue foreground, is Mt. Ararat with its snowy peak in the clouds. Noah's ark, in gold, rests on it. 2. Below that, on the right, is the image of the crown of the Armenian kings on a red background. The crown is in gold, with a silver star and a band of pearls. 3. On the left, on a green background, is Etchmiadzin. The structure is in silver, while its crosses are in gold. 4. The Russian eagle, on a golden background, is above the coat of arms. Its body rests on and shields the two images [Ararat and Etchmiadzin]. The Imperial Russian crown is at the top of the coat of arms. The coat of arms was designed after consulting various books of heraldry....

## 353

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov*(27 July 1833)<sup>3</sup>

In your communiqué no. 24 (28 April), you asked me to gather the following information: Is there a part of the Armenian liturgy, in which the name of the Emperor is proclaimed prior to that of the ruling clergy, as there is in the Greco-Russian *ektenia* [liturgy].<sup>4</sup> If there is, then by what precedent does Catholicos Hovhannēs in his liturgy proclaim the name of His Imperial Majesty and the entire Imperial Family after the names of the catholicos, archbishops, bishops, and all the rest of the religious hierarchy? Is this based on ancient customs of the Armenian Church, or is it Catholicos Hovhannēs's idea?

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<sup>1</sup> Register no. 12, text in *SAAN*, II, 280-281.

<sup>2</sup> The minister of justice from 1829 to 1839.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 192), 272 [confidential report].

<sup>4</sup> Part of Orthodox liturgy consisting of versicles and responses.

I examined Archbishop Hovsēp's Russian translation of the Armenian liturgy, page 67; it specifically states that after the private prayer, the name of the Emperor and His Family precedes that of the catholicos and religious hierarchy. I asked Professor Cherpet (Cirbied?) of the University of Paris, to examine ancient documents regarding this and he has responded in French that the custom was introduced a long time ago to strengthen the authority of the catholicos over the Armenian people and that the custom prevailed in the Armenian Church in Russia. No such procedure was followed in Georgia or in any Armenian Church functions in Transcaucasia, however. I suggest that we ask that Hovhannēs voluntarily change the procedure or wait for the election of the next catholicos, when we shall make it a condition of the approval of his candidacy. If you desire that I bring this matter to the attention of the catholicos, then I need to know the best time to discuss this delicate topic so as not to disturb our relations with the Armenian Church....

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*Report on Eastern Transcaucasia*  
(1833)<sup>1</sup>

1) *Karabagh Province*

The inhabitants of this province are divided into two general groups: civilian and religious. The first group can itself be divided into upper, middle, and lower classes.<sup>2</sup> *Begs*, *aqalars*, *meliks*, *mīn-bāšīs*, and *sultans* belong to the upper class; *yūzbašīs* and *mu'āfs* belong to the middle class; and the peasants--those belonging to the state, those belonging to landlords, as well as *ranjbars*, make up the lower classes.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to define the *begs*. They were generally given their position by the khans and had to serve as well as present gifts to the

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 354), 469-477. The report, edited here to avoid repetitious material, was written by an unknown official of the administration and was probably prepared for the new administrator in chief, Rosen, who was a very methodical person.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the Russians had already begun to use the terms "upper," "middle," and "lower" as well as the term "class."

<sup>3</sup> The term *mu'āf* (*mo'āf*) in this case meant tax-exempt. *Ranjbars* were landless peasants, who worked as sharecroppers.

khans. They could be punished, including bodily punishment, just like regular people. The khans, in their autonomy, granted them estates from which the begs took as much as they could from the peasants. They enjoyed the right of subjecting their peasants to corporal punishment, and some of them, members of the khan's family, could even sentence their peasants to death. They had the right to sell all movable and immovable property, except for the native peasants on the land, who could be transferred only with the permission of the khan.

The *aqas*, which can be translated as "gentlemen" or "master" (*gospodin*), were members of the khan's family and could be of either sex. They have the same rights as the begs, but due to their familial closeness to the ruling khan, they enjoyed extra privileges. At the same time, they suffered the consequences of the khan's wrath or his downfall.

The term *melik* can be translated as a "lord's steward."<sup>1</sup> There are three different groups of meliks. The highest are the Armenian meliks who had their own personal melikdoms: the meliks of Varanda, Dizak, Khachen, Talish [Gulistan], and Jraberd. Their position, like those granted to semiautonomous khans, was established by the Persian shahs in return for services performed. Later, due to political upheavals, the meliks lost their autonomy, and fell under the control of the khans. Their position became the same as begs and aqalars. The second, and lower, group of meliks, is composed of Muslims who were originally Armenian meliks and who converted to Islam. They enjoy the same privileges as the begs. In the third group are the village elders who are occasionally called meliks.

The term *mīn-bāšī* literally means "commander of a thousand." Their title indicates that an ancestor commanded a unit of 1,000 men and was given land in lieu of service. The title thus became attached to the domain and not necessarily to the individual. Hence, his successors used it even if they did not command any troops. During the rule of the last khan they enjoyed the same rights as upper gentry--rights they continue to enjoy today.

*Sultan* is a term applied to a Muslim bailiff. It generally applies to leaders of nomadic groups of ten to one hundred families.

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<sup>1</sup> *Upravitel* (manager, old term; bailiff or steward, new term).



The Russian government considers them part of the nobility, parallel to ours. They are called to serve the state and are rewarded with medals, titles, and pensions. They lack refinement, however, and prefer to be decorated for financial gain rather than honor. Their peasants are free to complain and are not subject to the previous autonomous behavior of their owners. They pay their taxes in cash and kind and according to the number of animals they possess, based on established lists. The local administration takes measures to assure that they are not abused. The old rules against the sale of peasants still applies here.

*Mu'āfs* are individuals of regular means who were exempted from taxes by the previous administration. They had to perform certain duties for the khan, much like our gendarmes or peasant-policemen. During the formation of the armed forces, they were the first to appear and had to pay for their own equipment.

*Yüzbaşıs* got their name from leading one hundred soldiers or, in civilian cases, supervising no more than one hundred families. Their group is small and some are now village elders or in charge of small nomadic units. They have the same rights as the *mu'āfs*.

Both the *mu'āfs* and *yüzbaşıs* were given plots of land with *ranjbars* on them by the khan. The *mu'āf* were sometimes paid *kulukh*, a fee for services, by the begs, by tribes, or by villagers.

The peasants fall into two categories--those belonging to the state and those belonging to landowners. The latter, in addition to dues collected by the landowner, pay 2 rubles annually per family to the treasury. State peasants pay a set tax devised by the provincial court, which assesses them according to their means. They pay in grain, firewood, produce, and cash.

The *ranjbars* are peasants who are attached to the land granted by the khan [to the upper classes]. They also pay the treasury 2 rubles a year per household. The *ranjbars* receive a percentage of the harvest, depending on the quality of the land--from one-third to one-fourth and even one-fifth.

Finally, there are individuals who have been appointed by the villagers or by the begs, meliks, sultans, and even by the state to supervise villages or districts. These, known as *kadkōdas* and *na'ibs*, receive a salary, or a portion of the harvest, or both.

## 2) *Sheki Province*

The begs of Sheki fall into three categories: sultans, patrimonial or clan begs, and meliks.

The sultans were extremely respected during the rule of the khans. They were in charge of the wealthy *mahals*. The begs and meliks of those *mahals* obeyed them. They had the right to fine and punish and rarely reported their actions to the khans. They had no right to sentence someone to death. They received a livelihood from the *mahals* but the amount has not been determined.

Some of the begs traced their ancestry to old and powerful families, others were new and were named by the khans. They were greatly respected by the inhabitants. They could fine and punish for small offenses. For major offenses, the permission of the khan was necessary. The khans used them to keep themselves in power, hence their fortunes rose and fell with that of the ruling khan or family. Following Russian rule, they gave up their ruling privileges and were replaced by *mahal na'ibs*.

The meliks of Sheki, although in charge of a few villages, did not have special advantages and were always subject to the sultans or begs. Their main duty was to see that the people paid their taxes on time.

A small number of the sultans, begs, and meliks came with their titles from Persia; most, however, were given their titles by Hajji Chelebi (Čelebi) Khan, about ninety-five years ago. Chelebi was a simple Armenian peasant<sup>1</sup> who, due to the political upheavals of the time, made himself khan. He then granted his supporters land and the title of beg. Landless peasants, *ranjbars*, or emigrants from other region, such as Shirvan, were brought to these lands. The begs were also permitted to purchase orchards, fields and lands with peasants on them, who thus ended up being attached to the land. Thus *ranjbars* live today in many villages belonging to the state. The begs have to have documents of ownership, otherwise they lose their right over the peasants who then become state peasants.

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<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful that he was an Armenian. But if so, the title of *Hajji* suggests that he had either converted to Islam, or, more probably, began to use the title after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The khans of Sheki, as well as a few of the begs, usurped, bought, or inherited the best lands, which they called *kāleše* (kāšš). They treated their *ranjbars* on these estates (most had *ranjbars*) very badly, and took one-half of the silk production in Sheki *maḥal*, and one-third in Agdash and Aresh *maḥals*. The state now owns the silk orchards and collects the same amount from the *ranjbars*.

The khans also had *ra'yats*, or peasants who lived on the *kāleše* lands and paid in cash and kind as well as *corvée*. These now belong to the state and pay the same. Those peasants who settled in the Sheki, Kutkash, Bum, and Khachmaz *maḥals* during the rule of the khans kept some of their rights and paid only in cash and kind, but not in silk. During the Russian rule, they have to pay in silk as well. The khans did give villages as *tiyul* for service to begs, but they were not hereditary. Some ended up becoming hereditary illegally, and our government is investigating such properties.

The begs cannot sell their peasants, unless they are *ranjbars* or were at one time refugees, settled by the khan. Peasants in villages that were given by the khan in lieu of service cannot be sold; they can be asked to pay taxes and services to the landlords, but nothing else. If a beg oppresses a peasant, the latter has the right to move to another village. The khan or beg could give a peasant tools, animals, and seeds and demand one-third to one-half of the produce, but that did not imply serfdom. If a peasant did not receive any tools, or animals, or seeds, the share for the landlord (beg or khan) is one-tenth of the produce (one-fifth of the silk). The beg had no right to ask for *corvée* unless the peasants agreed [or paid].

Following the transfer to Russian rule, the sultans and begs were generally replaced by *na'ibs*, from the ranks of former begs and sultans, who supervise the seven *maḥals* of the province. They are responsible for law and order and the surrender of thieves and for encouraging the inhabitants to observe the regulations of the state and to make timely payment of taxes. They do not involve themselves in assessment of taxes. They are aided by *nokars*, who are from the ranks of the former *mu'afs*, and who, during the khan's time, composed the armed forces. They have been reduced to poverty, so the present government does not use them as armed and equipped soldiers. The *na'ibs* are not paid a salary by our government, so they charge for their arbi-

tration and other such services to the peasants. It would be better if we paid them a subsidy so as not to encourage bribery and corruption.

The present government has demanded documentary proof of their status and has generally has accepted the sultans, begs, and meliks in the same ranks they enjoyed during the khanate, although they do not have all their former privileges over the peasants. They are to perform duties as local policemen, escort transports in time of war--which they did in the last Persian and Turkish wars [1826-1829]--and to be in charge of Tatar militia during wartime and of units guarding against Lesghian attacks.

### 3) *Shirvan Province*

During the khanate the begs resembled our courtiers, with the difference that the khan could subject them to corporal punishment. There are two groups of begs: the first received their rank and title from the Persian shahs, the second from the khan. The first are thus more respected among the people. The rights and privileges of the begs comprise solely their control over some villages and their movable property, which is also divided into two categories: Some of the land was received in lieu of salary from the khan or shah--in form of rent usufruct, sometimes in perpetuity. In other cases, the begs purchased plots of land which they then enticed landless peasants or refugees from foreign areas to settle on. These lands were *molk* (*mulk*)--or private property. The beg cannot sell the peasants from these lands, but can sell his land with all that is on it. Other lands which are not *kālese* or *mulk* belong to the community and cannot be sold. Taxes can be collected from them and nothing else. The begs can purchase individuals, called *ğolām* (*ğul*) [slaves] in the case men and *karavaš* in the case women, mainly for household duties. Only one person from the family of the late khan was called *aqa*, but the title is used by respected citizens who were designated as such by the khan. They have the same privileges as the begs. The *na'ibs*, meliks, and elders came from respectable families of begs and were appointed by the khans, as well as by us, as the district supervisors. During the khanate they could punish individuals and collect fines for their income. They are not permitted to do so now, but since they receive no salary from us they are permitted to free labor on the part of the peasants on their lands, in addition to accepting presents and donations.

*Kevki* (equal to *yüzbaşı*) are village elders who during the khanate were tax-exempt and even had some *ranjbars* working for them. Presently they are elected by their villages and do not receive anything from the state.

*Dārūḡes* were favorites of the khan, who were appointed as police masters of villages or nomadic tribes and received money and produce. They continue in our days as well. There are also *dārūḡes* for orchards belonging to the khan and now to the state. They do not get paid but receive a part, depending on the item, of the harvest for their services. The *ranjbars* have to pay them one-tenth of their share.

The *mu'āf*, from the time of the khan were tax-exempt, given in lieu of service, or was a hereditary position.

*Mu'āf-nokars* comprised the troops of the khan. Not only did they not pay taxes or perform labor but they received gifts from the khan in the form of horses, arms, and other things. They served him as envoys and as messengers, with the power to enforce the khan's will. This class has been totally useless since we took over and we occasionally use them as border guards and as policemen under the *maḥal na'ibs*.

The *ranjbars* here do not pay taxes in cash but perform relay postal service station duties, and billet troops. They work on state lands and take care of state silk production and fruit orchards. The state must supply all their tools, seeds, and animals and receives half of their produce, save in the fruit orchards, where the state receives a quarter of the harvest, and the barley fields, where they receive from one-third or one-fifth to one-half, depending on the quality of the land.

#### 4) Derbent Province

During the khanate, the begs did not own any villages. The khan gave them villages only for a few years of service and if he favored them. He took them back when the service ended or they fell into disfavor. When the Russians took Derbent, all the villages belonging to the khan were given to the Shamkhal of Tarku (Targhu),<sup>1</sup> who still possesses them. One-tenth of them are producing grain. The *maḥals* elect their own *kadkōdas* to maintain law and order.

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<sup>1</sup> The Tarku was a tribe that lived north of Derbent on the Caspian coast. The title of their leader was *shamkhal*.

### 5) Kara-Kaitak Province

In the past the begs had tremendous power over the inhabitants and collected extra dues. They have now lost that privilege. They do collect, however, 20 measures of wheat and 5 measures of barley from every pair of working animals, plus one-tenth of the silk. They are also required to sow the millet of the beg. Villages that did not belong to the begs are totally free from them, now as well as before. They are ruled by their own elders and *qadis*. The begs, in their own villages, had the right to rule their subjects and collect taxes, but could not sell anyone.

### 6. Tabasaran (Tabarsaran)

During the rule of the *ma'sum*, the begs had the same rights as the *qadis* and could punish and fine the inhabitants. At present the begs receive from each household two measures of wheat and one measure of barley. The *nokars*, or bodyguards of the *ma'sum* do not pay anything. The inhabitants have to sow the grain for the begs free of charge. There are no *aqalars* or *na'ibs* here. Instead *kevki* and *čāvuš*--that is men in charge of ten who perform various services.

### 7) Kuba Province

The begs are free from all duties and enjoy the income from their villages allocated by the former administrator in chief, Ermolov.

The *na'ibs* supervise the *maḥals* for the local military chiefs, who are responsible for the peace and law and order of their *maḥals* and carry out the orders of the divan and the commandant of the province.

The *kadkodas* are village elders who collect the annual taxes and hand it to the *na'ib* of their *maḥal*.

The *qal'e-beg*, or the police chief of the town, is responsible for peace and cleanliness as well as for the Jewish quarter of the town. Those who break the law are taken by him to the commandant.

The *khalfa*, or the commander of the 15 *esauls* (Cossack captains) assured the organization of petitions and the carrying out of orders or instructions of the divan or the commandant.

The *başçı* or the chief of 20 *nokars*, is responsible for keeping his group armed and taking care of their horses so that they can carry out the orders of the divan or the commandant.

The *dārūḡe*, in addition to what he collects from each settler, receives a *dah-yek* or one-tenth of the harvest from the village allotted to him, as well as a load of firewood, from which he has to pay his assistant. He is to receive one day a year in *corvée* from each household.

In 1824 General Ermolov decreed the following income for the begs:

- 1) One-tenth of the harvest of all grains
- 2) Two loads of firewood from each household
- 3) One load of chaff or seeds per household. If a village does not have these, the beg should be satisfied with whatever is available. Peasants who are poor and do not have work animals do not have to pay the firewood or the seeds. Begg cannot order villagers to carry goods to town, if their village has artisans who give him items for sale.
- 4) Each group of ten households has to give the beg one worker per year, for *corvée*.
- 5) If the beg wishes to build himself a house, the inhabitants of the village have to work six days free of charge, in their free time only.
- 6) If the beg is on a [military] campaign or if he is asked by the commandant to send a message, the villagers have to supply a horse which will be later returned. Villages with less than thirty households are exempt from this.
- 7) If the beg asks for voluntary labor, he is to feed the workers well.
- 8) If a beg sends his own man to collect the taxes, instead of waiting for the elder to collect the village taxes for him, he is responsible for the behavior of the tax-collector, in case he insults anyone.
- 9) Every household will give the beg up to three loads of top-quality wheat.
- 10) Each beg is entitled to have his personal bread brought to him to the city from his village--two loaves from each household if they can reach the city in the same day and four loaves if they are far from the city, like Barmak *maḥal*.

Villages in the Budug, Khinalugum, and Anagdarin *mahals*, which have more than ten households, will, instead of the above, give the beg one servant, one tiller, and one groom. Begg with small settlements, of less than ten households, do not have to supply guards, *esauls*, or workers of any kind to the state.

8) *Elisavetpol' Okrug*

The inhabitants of the city of Elisavetpol' are under the supervision of the city police. The Armenian villagers are under their own meliks and elders, and the Muslim settlements are supervised by their own begs and aqalars, as ordered by General Ermolov in 1817. There is no nobility in the Elisavetpol' *uezd* and hence there are no landowners.

There are no begs in Elisavetpol' who enjoy the privileges of nobility. They are considered regular citizens and are subject to corporal punishment, as was the case with 'Alī Beg of Shamkhor, who was recently whipped.

2) It is common for the Tatars here to call a village elder a beg or an aqa. The district commander, Lt. Colonel Stepanov, has stated that he witnessed people in regular clothes being addressed as beg.

3) The inhabitants of Elisavetpol' do not pay taxes individually but send their taxes as a village, or even as a *mahal*. It is, therefore, unknown how much each family pays and who does not pay. The treasury does not pay attention if some people who claim to be begs or village *yüzbaşı* or elders of *mahals* forgo the payment of taxes, which then falls on the peasants.

4) The chief of Elisavetpol', not having a list of nobility, cannot determine who was tax-exempt at one time and who wasn't. If he relied on the word of the Tatars, half the population of the region would be exempt. They will testify for each other.

5) There are no aqalars, meliks, or others in charge of villages here. *Yüzbaşı*s and elders are appointed by the chief of the region.

6) One cannot rely on the word or sworn testimony of the Tatars. The character of the inhabitants is such that they will testify to the advantage of their coreligionists to the detriment of the treasury.



9) *Borchalu, Kazakh, and Shamshadil Military Ranges (distantstii)*

The rights of the begs are the same as stated by General Ermolov. There are no landowners, except in Borchalu, where the inhabitants have to submit part of the harvest and the flocks and help in the construction of houses and picking of fruit in the orchards, in addition to what they pay the treasury.

## 355

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov*(18 January 1834)<sup>1</sup>

The chief of the Armenian province, Prince Bebutov, has submitted a report, a copy of which is enclosed,<sup>2</sup> regarding irregularities at Etchmiadzin.

It seems that the catholicos and the members of the Synod have tried to hush word of the problems. I have, therefore, instructed a member of my staff, Captain Iazikov, to obtain information when he delivers the 5,000 ruble annual subsidy from His Majesty to Etchmiadzin.<sup>3</sup> I have also given Iazikov a letter, to be secretly passed on to the catholicos. The note states that we support him but at the same time we wish that he could come to terms with the Synod....

I have also instructed Bebutov to keep a close watch over the situation in Etchmiadzin and make sure that the catholicos is obeyed....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 197), 278 [confidential report].

<sup>2</sup> Bebutov's report (13 December) states that the Synod members, led by Bishop Simēon from Russia and Vardapet Hovhannēs of Crimea, demanded changes and were abusive to the catholicos. He adds that conditions resembled the days of Daniēl and Dawit' and that something had to be done to resolve the problem, *ibid.*, 278.

<sup>3</sup> Iazikov's report is in *ibid.*, 280-281.

<sup>4</sup> On 16 November 1833, the Etchmiadzin Synod wrote a long letter to the catholicos. They reminded Hovhannēs that he was elected to his position primarily because Ep'rem was old and sick and could not administer the Holy See. They added that conditions had not improved but had deteriorated since Hovhannēs had been anointed and that the catholicos was ruling the See single-handedly, without consulting them. They demanded an answer in three days to their various complaints, *ibid.*, (doc. 194), 273-276.

## 356

*Catholicos Hovhannēs to Baron Rosen*(31 January 1834)<sup>1</sup>

We received your secret letter and hasten to reply that there has indeed been some disorder.

The individuals who are responsible for the disorder are our seditious brothers 1) Archbishop Simēon Bznuni, a friend of Archbishop Nersēs and our enemy, who upon arrival from [New] Nakhichevan immediately joined the opposition and began to attract accomplices; 2) Archbishop Grigor of Ardivin, one of the most respected members of the Synod, who abused our trust in him and ignored his sworn duty; 3) Bishop Nikoghos Ter-Marukov, a supporter of Nersēs, who joined Simēon's group. His action truly hurt us because we had just recently recommended that he be elevated to the rank of bishop and he swore his allegiance to us; 4) Vardapet Hovhannēs of Crimea, who is one of the main instigators of the problem. He was forced out of the Synod when he abused the trust of Catholicos Ep'rem by illegally using the catholicos's seal and signature and causing much of the present chaos. He claims that Your Excellency had given him the authority to act, which is, of course, a lie; 5) Vardapet Gēorg of Tat'ew, who, in an instant, forgot all our kindness to him. He joined the group when he was not appointed to the rank of bishop; 6) Vardapet Step'an of Ararat, one of the members of the Synod, a stubborn man, selfish, and bent on evil, who, despite his young age, desired the rank of bishop, which is given only to deserving individuals. He joined Hovhannēs of Crimea and together they wrote insulting comments on letters addressed to us; 7) The monk Hovhannēs Shahkhatunov, also a member of the Synod, is under the influence of Archbishop Grigor, and has abandoned his duties. The behavior of Step'an and Hovhannēs is painful since the first was the chancellor of the Synod and in charge of the seminary at Etchmiadzin, and the second was in charge of the library and printing press. Instead of concentrating on their duties they involved themselves in the cabal and demanded that we change the procedures of Etchmiadzin; 8) The monk Martiros of Ashtarak, a relative of Arch-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII, (doc. 198), 280.

bishop Nersēs, is a man with a turbulent character whose bad behavior has been documented in the correspondence between Catholicos Ep'rem and Count Paskevich-Erevanskii, which is filed in your chancery.

We cannot comprehend the actions of the individuals listed above except by concluding that they wish to disrupt the leadership of Etchmiadzin, which was given to me by His Majesty's decree.

During all this time, we have remained silent and did not bother Your Excellency, hoping that they would come to their senses and find the true road. But, as you already know they have not changed, and hence we refer them to your will.<sup>1</sup>

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*Baron Rosen to Counselor Uvarov*<sup>2</sup>  
(8 February 1834)<sup>3</sup>

Paying special attention on the education of youth in the region entrusted to me by His Highness, I have come to the conclusion that the situation here is not sufficiently satisfactory to enlighten the people living in Transcaucasia. I, therefore, agree with the opinion of our former director of the grammar schools, Gruber, who recommended a project for the establishment of schools in the numerous districts of the Empire. I request that you submit it to His Majesty and solicit His approval....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 12 March, Bludov wrote to Rosen and stated that after examining all the reports he had come to the conclusion that even if Nersēs was not involved, his supporters wished that he had become catholicos. He added that some of the fault also lay with Catholicos Hovhannēs, *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 199), 281. The accusations and complaints continued from March to June, *ibid.* (doc. 200-203) 281-289.

<sup>2</sup> S. S. Uvarov was minister of public education from 1833 to 1849.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 67), 97.

<sup>4</sup> The report included the report of Gruber (submitted in March 1830), which states that eleven grammar schools already exist in T'elavi, Gori, Kutais, Shushi, Akhaltsikhe, Erevan, Baku, Nukha, Elisavetpol', and Mingrelia. They had a total of 622 students (324 sons of begs, meliks, etc; 281 sons of merchants and well-to-do citizens; and 17 sons of people of regular means). It recommended that eighteen grammar schools be opened to enhance the educational opportunities in Transcaucasia. These schools would teach Russian as well as the languages of the local population and each group would be taught in a separate class by a teacher who was either a Muslim, who

## 358

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Butenev*(28 June 1834)<sup>1</sup>

Although the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem have acknowledged Hovhannēs as the Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos of the Armenians, they were hesitant to welcome a delegation from Etchmiadzin. Vice-Chancellor Count Nessel'rode agrees with the idea that one way to bypass this problem is to send the announcement of the election of the new catholicos to Constantinople. Once the announcement is received, then you, together with the patriarchs, will do your best to convince the Porte to accept a delegation from Etchmiadzin....

Catholicos Hovhannēs agreed to send one senior clergyman, Archbishop Barsegh, to Constantinople via Tiflis. I met with Barsegh and gave him the details of his expected behavior in Turkey. His duty will be to present the document to the patriarch and return....

Archbishop Barsegh presented the following demands from the catholicos:

1) The name of the catholicos shall be announced in all liturgies performed in Armenian churches in Turkey, as it was done until 1826.

2) The sacred *muron* will be distributed to the Turkish Armenians by the catholicos once every three years so that they shall not be deprived of it.

3) A depository for funds donated to Etchmiadzin by Turkish Armenians is once again to be established, as it was prior to 1826.

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could teach Tatar (Persian?), an Armenian Apostolic who was fluent in the Armenian language, or an Orthodox, who knows Georgian. The new schools were to be located in Tiflis (Georgian, Armenian, and Tatar students), Gori (Georgian and Armenian), T'elavi (Georgian and Armenian), Signaghi (Georgian and Armenian), Elisavetpol' (Armenian and Tatar), Dushet (Georgian and Armenian), Kutais (Georgian and Armenian), Mingrelia (Georgian), Shushi (Armenian and Tatar), Nukha (Armenian and Tatar), Shemakha (Armenian and Tatar), Kuba (Armenian and Tatar), Baku (Armenian and Tatar), Derbent (Armenian and Tatar), Erevan (Armenian and Tatar), Nakhichevan (Armenian and Tatar), Akhaltsikhe (Georgian, Armenian, and Tatar), and Lenkoran (Armenian and Tatar).

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 204) 289.

4) A permanent overseer from Etchmiadzin would act as *vekil* to record and supervise the wills of those Turkish Armenians who leave houses, stores, and other income-producing property to Etchmiadzin.

However, the minister of the interior informed me that it would be better to send the proclamation by courier to you and not by an Armenian bishop, whose presence might anger the divan. I, therefore, did not send Barsegh to Constantinople and have the honor of enclosing the proclamation to your care. I think it is necessary to let the patriarch know the aforementioned four conditions and to decide if it would be better for him to agree to them first, or whether it would be more practical to convince the Porte to receive a delegation from Etchmiadzin....<sup>1</sup>

## 359

*Prince Bebutov to Baron Rosen*(13 July 1834)<sup>2</sup>

The Armenian province has only one forest, the one in Darachichak. Its area is not large and the government must take action in order to save it from destruction.

The danger is primarily due to the arbitrary nature of cutting trees in that forest. Trees are uprooted and young saplings are not replacing the old trees, and thus in ten years the entire forest can disappear. The government may then finally pay attention to this problem, but it will be too late....

In order to save the forest of Darachichak the following measures should be taken:

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<sup>1</sup> On 21 October 1834, Butenev wrote to Rosen that he had delivered the proclamations and was awaiting the response of the patriarch to the demands of the catholicos. On 21 November, Baron Rosen wrote to Nessel'rode that the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem did not wish to give up any authority over the Turkish Armenians. In fact they wished to further distance themselves from Etchmiadzin and use the Porte as an excuse to go against their own tradition. He added that the relationship of Etchmiadzin with Turkish Armenians was very important for the Russian government and might even slow the success of the Catholic missionaries with the Turkish Armenians, *ibid.*, (doc. 212) 295-196.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 390), 513.

1) The land surveyor of the province should be told to conduct a cadastral survey of the Darachichak forest.

2) Divide the forest into twenty or more parcels and permit cutting of trees in one parcel every year. Thus each parcel will have enough time to revive itself for the next cutting [at least twenty years].

3) Appoint a provincial forester with an annual salary of 500 silver rubles. Encourage the planting of trees throughout the province, especially trees which are favored for building.

4) Allocate some funds to obtain seeds for the said trees.

5) Hire ten local inhabitants to help the forester and to make sure that no one without the necessary permit be allowed to cut trees in the forest. Their pay should be not more than 80 rubles per annum.

6) In order to cover these expenses we could charge for the wood-cutting permits, for example, for each log, 6 silver kopeks, and for each load of firewood, 2 kopeks.

7) The forester could also encourage the various villages in the *mahals* to plant trees along the canals, which are popular with the local inhabitants.

8) Detailed information on forestry can be requested from the forestation society recently established in St. Petersburg....<sup>1</sup>

### 360

#### *Count Vorontsov<sup>2</sup> to Tsar Nicholas*

(11 January 1835)<sup>3</sup>

Upon my return to St. Petersburg, I was informed by State Secretary Tanev that Your Imperial Highness wishes that I try to interest our merchants from the Novorossiisk region in selling our manufactured goods in Trebizond....

The importance of this assignment urged me to involve myself for the last year and a half in seeking to learn about trade and finding out the prices and items sold in Smyrna, London, and East India. For ex-

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<sup>1</sup> On 22 September Baron Rosen approved the above measures.

<sup>2</sup> M. S. Vorontsov was the governor-general of New Russia from 1823 to 1844. The territory included Bessarabia, Kherson Province, Tauride Province, and Ekaterinoslav Province. In 1845 he was appointed as the first viceroy of the Caucasus.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 88), 145-147.

ample, I am convinced that opium, which is one of the main trading items England sells in Canton, can be bought cheaper by us from Anatolia, transported over a land route via Siberia, and sold to the Chinese. As to our trade on the coast of the Black Sea and Trebizond: Based on the information I gathered from the Odessa Trade Association and from the wholesalers, Kozlov and Feodosii, I am sorry to report that our trade with Anatolia and Persia has not improved but has declined. The reasons are:

The trade in Asia Minor is directly connected to the trade with Persia and Transcaucasia. Except for the sea lanes, this trade is in the hands of the Armenians. As long as the Transcaucasian region had free port rights and when the port in Redut-Kale was open, the Armenians sent goods from Odessa. After that they bought goods in Odessa, or in Leipzig and transported them via Brody to Odessa. They were then transported by sea to the port of Redut-Kale and from there to Tiflis and Tabriz. In 1828 5 million rubles' worth of goods was transported by the Armenians from Odessa.

In 1829 and 1830 the government, in order to stop contraband, took certain measures which affected the transit trade described above. The Armenians were forced to transport the goods from Leipzig to Redut-Kale via Trieste. Russia lost income and the Armenian trade with Odessa decreased significantly.

In 1832 when the exemption granted Transcaucasian trade ran out, Russian merchants began to complain that they could not compete with foreigners and that if free ports were not reinstated, the Armenians would buy all their goods at the fairs in Nizhni-Novgorod, as they had prior to the introduction of the special trade status of Transcaucasia. The complaints were ignored and basic European tariffs was introduced to Transcaucasia. The Armenians, who had a falling-out with the merchants in Leipzig, diverted their buying to Trieste and Trebizond. Russian goods in Nizhni-Novgorod, Tiflis, and Odessa were left unsold.

Meanwhile, Trebizond, despite its insecurity, became a major place for Persian goods. Foreigners, especially the English and their trading

company Brandt, became so successful that they surpassed all their competitors....<sup>1</sup>

The end of the special status for Transcaucasia thus helped the Europeans and hurt the sale of Crimean goods in Anatolia. Kozlov and Feodosii had a lively trade with Trebizond. In addition to grain, hides, wool, and salt, 100,000 *pud* of iron was shipped from the Crimea. Now English iron has taken over and only some 6,000 to 7,000 *puds* of Russian iron is sold in Trebizond. Despite the cheapness of raw materials in Russia, we cannot compete with England. The Asiatics are not interested in quality their main concern is the low cost of goods. The English manufacturers who sell metals in Asia concentrate not on quality but on the price.

To improve our trading in Trebizond we have to examine our relations with and conditions in Persia and Anatolia:

The road from Trebizond to Tabriz, via Erzerum, does not compare in safety to Redut-Kale via Tiflis to Persia. Kurdish raids, as demonstrated last year, are proof of the dangers in using the Turkish route. Thus, if our conditions were better, we could attract most of the merchants to use the much safer Russian roads for transit....

In addition, until 1824 there was a large excise tax on salt exported from the Crimea, which resulted in the loss of that trade to Turkey. Although the duty was finally reduced, the trade has not revived, which demonstrates that once you lose the trade it is difficult to regain it. The Anatolians now get their salt, which came initially from Russia, from Spain and France....

I do not dare to suggest nor do I think it advisable to return to the days of free trade in Georgia. But I think it would be advantageous to permit European goods to travel via Transcaucasia through one port, where the merchants could have fewer barriers and more privileges. The same could be done for the Crimea. Our Asiatic trade depends on transit, and fewer forms and obstacles would improve it greatly. Persians and Turkish Armenians would return to do business in Georgia, which, despite its poverty is rich in natural resources. The safe routes via Georgia and our Armenia, cannot compare to the semibarbarous

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<sup>1</sup> For details on the Tabriz-Trebizond trade, see C. Issawi, "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, I (1, 1970), 18-27.



routes from Persia to the Marmara and Black Seas [within Anatolia]. The Asiatics fear our fines and forms more than the dangers of the Turkish roads, however....<sup>1</sup>

## 361

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov*  
(23 July 1835)<sup>2</sup>

I received a report yesterday that on 16 July, Catholicos Ep'rem died at Etchmiadzin. He was buried at Etchmiadzin on the 18th, following a divine liturgy.

## 362

*Baron Rosen to Prince Bebutov*  
(14 August 1835)<sup>3</sup>

In response to your report of 12 July regarding the project to assess the inhabitants of the Armenian Province with a permanent tax rate, I suggest the following: 1) Taxes collected in kind (agricultural products) have to be limited to only important items, such as wheat, barley, millet, flax, and cotton. All other items are to be taxed in cash, based on their fair value during that year. 2) Villages which pay the state every four years have to deliver in kind the total sum accumulated

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<sup>1</sup> In 1833, twelve English ships sold 1,620 tons of goods worth 1,098,525 rubles to Trebizond and purchased 1,620 tons of goods worth 643,525 rubles, while Russia had only four vessels selling 406 tons (56,750 rubles) and purchasing 406 tons (11,750 rubles), *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 89), 152. The Russian trade in Trebizond remained the same in 1834, but English merchants lost some of their trade to the Austrian, Sardinian, and Greek merchants as demonstrated in the table, *ibid.*, (doc. 94), 165. On 24 October, Rosen reported to Kankrin that the Armenians were trading in Trebizond, Tabriz, Astrakhan, and the Euphrates basin of Anatolia, *ibid.* (doc. 92), 154-158. On 20 March 1836, Kankrin reported to the senate that some Armenians from Georgia, originally from Turkey, had returned there and had taken their capital to Trebizond. The capital was not large, however and the trade was minimal. He added that although it was rumored that this action would bring the Turkish and Persian Armenians to Trebizond, the latter would trade there without the presence of Transcaucasian Armenians, *ibid.*, (doc. 97), 171.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (209), 292.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 393), 515.

during the entire period; the same is true for those paying every three and every two years. The [Armenian] immigrants from Azerbaijan, who, until now, have not paid any taxes, should be assessed--by unofficial eye measurement--for this year's taxes. The nomadic population, who pay 5 rubles [per family] are to be assessed an additional quarter of wheat per family....

To accomplish the above, you need to call the elders of each community, as well as the tax collectors and local officials, to Erevan. Then, in your presence, they should prepare the permanent tax rolls for each community, a copy of which you shall forward to me.<sup>1</sup>

## 363

*The Polozhenie*<sup>2</sup>  
(11 March 1836)<sup>3</sup>

*The Imperial Regulation Governing the Armenian-Gregorian Church in Russia*

When our troops conquered Etchmiadzin, the ancient residence of the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of the Armenian Gregorian Church<sup>4</sup> and of the people of Haik [Armenians], and when the Armenian province [khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan], joined the Russian Empire, We deemed it necessary that the administration of the Armenian Gregorian Church be firmly and clearly regulated.

We have, therefore, drawn up a comprehensive statute on the governing of the Armenian Gregorian Church, keeping in mind both its internal autonomy and the laws of Our Empire. The project was undertaken at Our command by a committee, with the consultation of the

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<sup>1</sup> On 30 April 1836, Rosen reported to Chernyshev that the taxes collected (in kind and cash) from the Armenian province prior to his appointment were approximately 120,000 silver rubles. Although in 1834, some 157,000 rubles were collected, the province had a much larger potential for income. After the reorganization of the tax assessments, the state received more than 215,000 rubles in 1835, *ibid.*, (doc. 394) 515-516. The complete tax code of Erevan province can be found in *ibid.*, 516-518.

<sup>2</sup> The *Polozhenie* (Regulation or Statute) contains 10 chapters and has 141 articles. It was presented to the senate and became law on 10 April, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> The original Russian text is in *PSZR*, XI [no. 8970], 194-209.

<sup>4</sup> For the sake of simplicity, the term "catholicos" will be used instead of "Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos" [except in chapter II] in this document.

catholicos regarding certain points. After examining the document, the state council has approved the statute and has forwarded it to the senate for ratification, after which it shall become law.

## Statute

### *Chapter I. Concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Armenian Gregorian Church*

*Article 1.* The Armenian Gregorian Church, like all other [non-Russian] religious institutions, enjoys the protection of His Majesty, the Emperor.

*Article 2.* The Armenian Gregorian Church is free to practice its faith throughout the Russian Empire. Members of the Armenian Gregorian Church, as long as they do not break the law or hinder other faiths, may practice their religion without any restrictions.

*Article 3.* The Armenian Gregorian Church can appoint its own clergy and regulate their behavior according to its own laws.

*Article 4.* The clergy of the Armenian Gregorian Church, in all religious matters, are under the jurisdiction of their own superiors.

*Article 5.* The religious institutions of the Armenian Gregorian Church are in charge of administering their own affairs. They can resolve all civil suits in their own religious courts. Certain civil matters involving those who do not belong to the Armenian Gregorian Church can also be examined by their courts. In all criminal matters, however, they will be judged by secular courts according to the laws of the land. They are permitted, however, to have a representative to examine their case.

*Article 6.* The Armenian clergy in Russia are exempt from all taxes, duties, and services.

*Article 7.* Members of the Armenian Gregorian Church, as well as their wives and children [of non-celibate priests], can, under no circumstances, be subjected to corporal punishment.

*Article 8.* Members of the Armenian Gregorian Church, like members of other faiths in His Imperial Majesty's domains, can be granted awards by his Majesty.

*Article 9.* The Armenian Gregorian Church in Russia has the right to possess immovable property, but according to the Imperial decree is-

sued to the ministry of the interior, such property can never be converted to private property.

### *Chapter II. Concerning the Supreme Patriarch of Etchmiadzin*

*Article 10.* The administration of the Armenian Gregorian Church and the supervision of its clergy, as well as the observance of the canons and rites of the said Church, are in the hands of the Supreme Patriarch of All Armenians. The Synod of the Armenian Gregorian Church in Etchmiadzin assists him in all matters. The catholicos cannot delegate his rights and privileges to another person, the Synod, or any other council.

*Article 11.* The Supreme Patriarch of Etchmiadzin is elected by the entire Armenian people according to the rules stated below.

*Article 12.* When the throne of the catholicos is vacant, the Synod at Etchmiadzin sends announcements to all the Armenian dioceses in Russia and other states and sets a year's time for the election of a new Supreme Patriarch.

*Article 13.* Each diocese nominates two delegates, one clergy and one lay, for the upcoming election. The clergyman must be either the primate of a diocese or a cleric designated by him. The lay delegate should be elected by the meliks, yüzbaşıs, and other honorable members of the Armenian community and Church.

*Article 14.* If the elected members cannot attend the election in person, they can submit their decision in writing to the Synod.

*Article 15.* All the members of the Synod in Etchmiadzin, the seven most senior bishops, as well as the delegates, have a voice in the election. If there are not enough bishops, senior vardapets can vote in their place.

*Article 16.* The election shall take place in Etchmiadzin, in the Cathedral of St. Gregory the Illuminator.

*Article 17.* After all the ballots are counted, including those which were sent, the four individuals who receive the most votes shall be considered candidates. If the votes are even, the candidates shall be decided by lot. Those present will then elect two candidates [from among the four] for the office of Supreme Patriarch.

*Article 18.* After the election, the assembly will send three members [with the names of the two candidates] to the governor-general of

Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia, who will in turn submit the names of the two candidates to His Imperial Majesty through the Ministry of the Interior.

*Article 19.* The Emperor will then designate [one of the two] as the Supreme Patriarch of All Armenians. He shall graciously confirm him through a special edict. After the catholicos takes a loyalty oath to the Russian throne, the Emperor will permit his anointment according to the ancient rite of the Armenian Gregorian Church.

*Article 20.* The Supreme Patriarch of Etchmiadzin has the right to the ancient title of Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos of the Armenian People.

*Article 21.* The name of the Supreme Patriarch is mentioned after that of His Imperial Majesty and His August Dynasty in all liturgical services conducted in Armenian churches.

*Article 22.* Following ancient traditions, the catholicos, upon exiting his palace and the walls of the Etchmiadzin monastery, has the right to be accompanied by an honor guard composed of individuals residing in Etchmiadzin, members of the clergy, as well as two high-ranking clerics, one to hold his staff and the other his banner.

*Article 23.* Following ancient traditions of the Armenian Gregorian Church, the Supreme Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, as the Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian people, has the sole right to prepare and bless the sacred *muṙon*. Note: The distribution of the *muṙon* to various Armenian churches must be *gratis*.

*Article 24.* The Supreme Patriarch, as the head pastor of the Armenian people, anoints the primates of the various dioceses as well as the bishops of the Armenian Gregorian Church. Following ancient custom, he should make sure that unless absolutely necessary, there are as few bishops without a diocese as possible.

*Article 25.* As head of the Synod and according to Armenian Gregorian Church customs, the Supreme Patriarch is the final arbiter of purely dogmatic questions.

*Article 26.* The Supreme Patriarch, observing the regulations of the Armenian Gregorian Church, has the right to award individual clerics pectoral crosses, calottes, and kamelaukions for their services.

*Article 27.* The Supreme Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, as the pastoral head of the Armenian people, can, following the example of Catholi-

cos Nersēs,<sup>1</sup> occasionally show his benevolence by sending his blessing to Armenians living in various countries and instructing them to live in peace and to obey their rulers as prescribed in the Holy Gospel.

*Article 28.* When a new Emperor ascends the Russian Throne, the Supreme Patriarch at Etchmiadzin must send a high-ranking member of the Church to be present, to express congratulations on that special occasion, and to assure the loyalty of the Armenian Gregorian Church. If that is not possible, the message should be sent to the Emperor's designated deputy during the coronation ceremony.

*Article 29.* According to the rites of the Armenian Gregorian Church, the catholicos must permanently reside at the Etchmiadzin Monastery. If he wishes to be absent from Etchmiadzin for more than four months, he must request the permission of His Imperial Majesty through the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia and the Ministry of the Interior.

*Article 30.* The Supreme Patriarch has the right to dismiss members of the Synod as well as primates of dioceses. He can give leave to bishops for up to four months; for longer periods or for their travel abroad, he has to receive the permission of His Highness. No more than two members of the Synod can be on leave at the same time.

*Article 31.* The Supreme Patriarch, as the head of Etchmiadzin, is in charge of its administration, supervising it according to the regulations of the Church.

*Article 32.* Upon the death of the Supreme Patriarch, the Synod will convene immediately to take measures to safeguard all the documents pertaining to the administration of the Church, as well as the Church property entrusted in the Supreme Patriarch's care. Note: The Supreme Patriarch's personal property is his own. If he has not made a will, such property will revert to his legal heirs, and if there are no such heirs, then it become the property of the Armenian Gregorian Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably refers to St. Nersēs Shnorhali (1166-1173).

### *Chapter III. Concerning the Etchmiadzin Synod*

*Article 33.* The Synod at Etchmiadzin is under the supervision of the catholicos. Its members consist of four archbishops or bishops who permanently reside at Etchmiadzin, and four vardapets.

*Article 34.* When replacing a member of the Synod the catholicos shall submit two candidates to His Majesty the Emperor via the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia [the tsar would then choose one].

*Article 35.* The Synod at Etchmiadzin has the following prerogatives and duties:

- 1) Supervising all religious institutions under its jurisdiction; 2) Maintaining all monasteries, churches, seminaries, and other houses of worship under its jurisdiction; 3) Supervising the administration of the property of the Church; 4) Performing preliminary examinations of major infractions within monasteries, churches, and seminaries, after obtaining the permission of the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia and the Ministry of the Interior; 5) Allowing those who belong to the Armenian Gregorian Church to become priests or monks; 6) Consecrating and ordaining priests; 7) Issuing marriage certificates; 8) Granting special approval for a diocese to collect donations for the benefit of monasteries, churches, seminaries, and houses of worship that are not located in the territory of the said diocese; 9) Caring for widows and orphans of noncelibate priests or attendants of the Church; 10) Voicing their concern, if the catholicos appoints a bishop to a diocese without consulting the religious leaders of that diocese; 11) Presenting the catholicos with a final list of priests who shall be permitted to distribute the sacred *muṛon*; 12) Voicing their opinion in resolutions decided by the catholicos; 13) Preparing a list of all the clergy residing in the Armenian churches, monasteries, seminaries, and houses of worship in the various dioceses in Russia; 14) Preparing a list of all novices and nuns belonging to the Armenian Gregorian Church in Russia; 15) Preparing a proper list of all the property belonging to the Armenian Gregorian Church in Russia; 16) Presenting to the Ministry of the Interior via the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia, a complete list of births, deaths, and marriages of those listed in items 13, 14, and 15 in all the Armenian dioceses in Russia.

*Article 36.* The Synod has the following judicial prerogatives: 1) To hear complaints about members of the Synod; 2) To hear complaints about the leaders of the dioceses and their consistories; 3) To examine improper actions of the members of the Synod or diocesan leaders; 4) To examine appeals concerning marriage and other noncivil matters by the members of the diocesan consistory.

*Article 37.* The Synod at Etchmiadzin, under the guidance of the catholicos, shall have the final word in all matters of dogma, liturgy, Church rites, marriages, and those infractions by the clergy that do not fall within the jurisdiction of civil courts. The said Synod, as are other [non-Russian] religious bodies, is under the jurisdiction of the State senate and the Ministry of Interior.

*Article 38.* The punishment of diocesan leaders and members of the Synod, following the decision of His Imperial Majesty, will be carried out by the Ministry of the Interior.

*Article 39.* The Synod at Etchmiadzin has to appeal to the Ministry of the Interior via the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia regarding matters that require His Majesty's permission, deal with leaders of other religions, or regarding matters concerning governor-generals, governors, or heads of various regions.

*Article 40.* The Synod follows the decisions of its brotherhood in all purely religious matters, subject to the final approval of the catholicos. In all other matters, the catholicos can cast the deciding vote.

*Article 41.* The catholicos does not always preside over the Synod; but following any decision of the Synod's, he can present his opinion in writing.

*Article 42.* When the catholicos is not present in the Synod, he is represented by a senior archbishop or bishop, who is a member of the Synod. The said representative exercises this privilege when and if the catholicos cannot attend the meeting due to sickness or absence from Etchmiadzin. No one can replace the catholicos on religious matters upon which only he can decide. The Synod has to await his return or the election of a new catholicos.

*Article 43.* The rules governing the Synod, as well as the rights and responsibilities of its members and the functionaries of its chancery, are regulated by the brotherhood.

*Article 44.* The Synod, depending on its agenda, meets from two to three times a week.



*Article 45.* A special procurator is appointed by the [Russian] state senate from officials who know Russian and Armenian. He receives an appropriate salary from the state treasury.

*Article 46.* The procurator has the right to be present during all decisions of the Synod and is present during the election process of a catholicos. He represents the Ministry of Justice in the legal decisions, and the Ministry of the Interior in all other matters. He also represents the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia.

*Article 47.* The Synod appoints its own special bursar, who must be an honest cleric who is knowledgeable in accounting. The bursar does not deal with the general finances of the Etchmiadzin monastery, rather, he devotes his labor solely to the Synod.

*Article 48.* The Synod's bursar is in charge of all the sums credited or debited to the Synod. He regularly pays the bills that have been approved in the minutes of the Synod. Note: The Synod shall conduct a monthly audit of the bursar's accounts.

*Article 49.* The bursar's account books shall be examined, officially stamped by the Synod, and signed by two of its members, as well as by the procurator.

*Article 50.* The account books of the Synod have to be kept locked in a box in the Synod chambers. The box has to have three different locks and be stamped with the seal of the Synod. One of the keys is to be kept by the bursar; the other two by the two members who sign the books. All have to be present each time the box is opened.

*Article 51.* The bursar has to make sure that the box does not contain large sums of cash. He should invest any capital in legal interest-bearing investments. It is permitted to invest such capital with individuals whom the Synod trusts.

*Article 52.* The chancery of the Synod consists of a secretary and his two assistants, an interpreter, an administrator, a keeper of archives, and the necessary number of chancery workers. These individuals are chosen by the Synod with the approval of the catholicos.

*Article 53.* The procurator of the Synod should be of the 6th rank [of the civil service]; the bursar, if he is a civilian, 7th rank; the secretary, 8th rank; the administrator and archives keeper, 9th rank; and the assistants to the secretary and interpreter, 10th rank--that is if they did not have a higher rank in their previous positions.

*Article 54.* The members of the Synod, the procurator, the bursar, and the functionaries of the chancery, upon entering their service shall swear allegiance to His Majesty, the Emperor.

#### ***Chapter IV. Concerning the Primates of the Armenian Dioceses***

*Article 55.* The Armenian churches are divided into dioceses, administered by archbishops who act as primates.

*Article 56.* There are six Armenian dioceses in Russia: [New] Nakhichevan and Bessarabia, Astrakhan, Erevan, Georgia, Karabagh, and Shirvan.

Armenian churches in St. Petersburg, Moscow, the provinces of Novorossiisk, and the districts of Bessarabia are under the Nakhichevan-Bessarabia Diocese. Armenian churches in the rest of Russia, excluding those in Transcaucasia, fall under the jurisdiction of the Astrakhan Diocese.

The Armenian churches in the districts of Erevan, Nakhichevan, Ordubad, and Shuragol, as well as the Tat'ew Monastery and its pastoral limits, belong to the Erevan Diocese and are, according to tradition, supervised by the catholicos, who appoints vicars in the cities of this diocese. Armenian churches in Georgia and Elisavetpol' provinces, as well as the vicars in the districts of Borchalu, Kazakh, Shamsadil, part of Pambak, Akhaltsikhe, Imeret'i, and Guria fall into the Georgian Diocese. The churches in Karabagh (excluding Tat'ew), Sheki, and Talesh fall into the Karabagh Diocese, centered in Sheki with its vicarage. The churches in Shirvan, Kuba, Baku, and Derbent form the last diocese, which does not have a vicar. Note that the Armenian immigrants from Turkey who have settled in the regions of Akhaltsikhe and Shuragol have been under the control of their own archbishops, Karapet and Step'an, who accompanied them and who have been independent from the control of Etchmiadzin. They should now merge with the local Armenians, hence those in Shuragol will fall under the jurisdiction of the Erevan Diocese and those in Akhaltsikhe under the Georgian.

*Article 57.* The diocesan leaders or primates are appointed by His Majesty the Emperor from among the Armenian religious hierarchy

and receive an official decree of appointment. They swear allegiance to the Emperor upon assuming their positions.

*Article 58.* The Armenian archbishops in charge of these dioceses are responsible to the highest officials of the Russian State as well as to their superior. They are assisted by their consistories in administering their dioceses.

*Article 59.* The primates of the Armenian dioceses can ordain [noncelibate] priests, provided that they do not exceed the number necessary for their region. With the approval of the catholicos they ordain vardapets as well.

*Article 60.* The diocesan primates can give leave to the priests under their supervision, but not for more than four months. For longer periods they must ask their superior, who, in turn, must ask the state officials.

*Article 61.* The primates must set an example of Christian behavior and loyalty to the state. They must be a good influence on their flock.

*Article 62.* The primates must monitor the religious behavior of their subordinates and parishioners to assure that it corresponds to the teachings of the gospels.

*Article 63.* The primates must follow the laws of the gospel and encourage good acts among their subjects, filling them with the spirit of Christ. They must avoid intolerance and undue strictness.

*Article 64.* The primates are required, if not every year, at least once every three years, to conduct a complete survey of the diocese entrusted to them by His Highness. If it is impossible for them to do so, they have to delegate someone trustworthy from among their clergy to diligently carry out this task.

*Article 65.* The said survey must pay special attention to the clergy in the churches and monasteries and must note any mismanagement or misbehavior.

*Article 66.* The primates have also to pay special attention to the condition of the schools administered by their churches, monasteries, and other religious institutions in their diocese. They have to strive to improve them, to ensure order and understanding between teachers and students.

*Article 67.* While conducting the surveys, the primates must examine the finances of the churches and monasteries in their dioceses.

*Article 68.* The primates must present a report of their survey to the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

*Article 69.* The primates are responsible for presenting an annual financial accounting to the Etchmiadzin Synod.

*Article 70.* Upon assuming the position of primate, each archbishop must submit a full inventory of the net worth of his diocese to the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

*Article 71.* Upon the death of a primate, if he does not have legal heirs, his personal property goes to the Armenian Gregorian Church. The diocesan consistory is responsible for this.

### ***Chapter V. Concerning the Consistories and Religious Councils***

#### ***A: Consistories***

*Article 72.* There is a consistory, or governing council, in each Armenian diocese. It consists of four members: a vardapet and three archpriests or priests. The primate chairs the consistory.

*Article 73.* The members of each consistory are appointed by the primate of the diocese, who then forwards their names to the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

*Article 74.* The consistory's chancery consists of a secretary, an interpreter, an administrator, who also acts as a bursar and archive keeper, and the necessary number of subordinates. These individuals are chosen by the members of the consistory and are approved by the primate. The secretary and administrator are classified in the 10th rank, while the interpreter is in the 12th rank--unless they had a higher rank in a previous position.

*Article 75.* Members of the consistory and of the chancery, upon assuming their duties, swear an oath of allegiance and loyalty to His Majesty the Emperor and swear to carry out their duties diligently.

*Article 76.* The consistories follow the procedures and regulations established by the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

*Article 77.* The consistories' duties include: 1) Supervising all their hierarchy, monastic as well as nonmonastic [married and unmarried priests]; 2) Supervising all lay members working in their churches, monasteries, seminaries, or houses of worship; 3) Supervising all widows and orphans of those who were in their service; 4) Supervising the income from all the churches and monasteries in their diocese; 5) Ex-

aming and deciding upon all arguments among their members; 6) Granting permission for marriage (any proposals or marriages of a dubious nature, however, should be referred to the Etchmiadzin Synod); 7) Permitting the collection of charity or dues in their diocese to benefit their monasteries, churches, seminaries, or houses of worship; 8) Permitting members outside their diocese to collect dues or charities (see Article 94); 9) Confirming members of the religious and monastic hierarchy; 10) Appointing deacons; 11) Presenting petitions to the Etchmiadzin Synod of those in their diocese who wish to join the ranks of the Armenian clergy; 12) Presenting petitions to the Synod to establish religious endowments, charities, or to construct churches, seminaries, or monasteries; 13) Making accurate lists of the numbers of monasteries, churches, seminaries, and houses of worship as well as the number of nuns and married priests and lay workers, parishioners, teachers, and students in their diocese; 14) Reporting annually to the Synod on the exact conditions of the monasteries, churches, seminaries, and houses of worship and their total worth, income, and other financial matters; 15) Examining monthly all the bills, and receipts of credit and debit of the account books.

#### *B. Assemblies*

*Article 78.* A number of Armenian dioceses in Russia have religious assemblies consisting of three members--a vardapet or archpriest and two priests. Their clerk has a rank of 12.

*Article 79.* The primate appoints the members of these assemblies, who in turn appoint the clerk. They too swear a loyalty oath upon entering their service.

*Article 80.* The assemblies are under the diocesan consistory and cannot initiate anything without the approval or knowledge of the consistory.

*Article 81.* The assembly gathers all the necessary information and evidence for the petitions submitted by lay individuals to the consistory and they witness all birth certificates.

*Article 82.* The assembly reports annually to the consistory regarding all their activities, the number of parishioners, births, deaths, and marriages in the churches under their care.

*Chapter VI. Concerning Monasteries*

*Article 83.* All monasteries, male or female, belonging to the Armenian Gregorian Church follow the regulations of St. Basil the Great, according to ancient traditions.<sup>1</sup>

*Article 84.* All those wishing to enter a monastic life shall be given a probation period that is decided upon by the Armenian Gregorian Church. The number of male or female novices should not exceed the required number of monks or nuns in each monastery.

*Article 85.* No one can take monastic vows without nomination by the diocesan leadership and the permission of the Synod at Etchmiadzin.

*Article 86.* Those wishing to take monastic vows have to be at least thirty years old. Special exceptions based on the regulations of the Armenian Gregorian Church may be granted, however. It is not forbidden for novices under thirty to enter a monastery.

*Article 87.* One needs the prior approval of the local officials to enter a monastery. Those who can afford to pay taxes have to have the permission of the state senate to join a monastery.

*Article 88.* Those who are married can enter the monastery provided that they have no small children and that both partners wish to enter a monastic life.

*Article 89.* Those entering a monastery give up all rights to their immovable property. After joining they have no right to own any such property. It is not forbidden, however, to purchase such property for the benefit of the monastery that they enter. If an individual receives property in a will, they have to transfer or sell it within a period of six months.

*Article 90.* Monastery residents are forbidden to conduct any form of trade, except of what they have produced themselves and that with the permission of their superiors.

*Article 91.* In the absence of a will or relatives, all personal movable property of the residents of a monastery remain in the cloister after their death.

*Article 92.* According to the rites of the Armenian Gregorian Church, some individuals may give up their name and position upon entering the monastery. If they wish to return to the world, it is permitted for

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<sup>1</sup> The famous Cappadocian religious leader and bishop of Cesarea (ca. 330-379).

them once again to assume their hereditary position and income. They will, however, forfeit any titles that they may have earned prior to their entering the monastery.

*Article 93.* Each cloister has to have a fixed number of monks or nuns; in any case, not less than eight of each. The Etchmiadzin Synod, after receiving a request from the diocesan council, can determine the number of members of a cloister that does not have a fixed number. The income of said monastery shall determine the number.

*Article 94.* The diocesan council can permit, in addition to monks, nuns, and servants, old or poor men who have served the Armenian Gregorian Church to retire or recuperate in a monastery. The children, especially the orphaned sons belonging to such men, can do so as well. Widows and poor daughters of those who have served the Church, as well as orphan girls, can live in nunneries, where they can receive an education and learn a craft.

*Article 95.* The Armenian monasteries are under the jurisdiction of their dioceses and have to present a detailed annual account of all their activities. Complaints regarding the heads of the cloisters must be brought to and examined by the archbishop of the diocese.

*Article 96.* Voluntary contributions to a monastery are given through the diocese in which the cloister is located and none other. Each donation has to have the permission of the diocesan hierarchy and of the Synod of Etchmiadzin, at the request of that hierarchy. In all cases, the permission of the local government is required.

*Article 97.* Armenian monasteries are administered by a prior--generally a vardapet--and nunneries by a prioress. They are appointed by the diocesan leaders and are confirmed by the catholicos.

*Article 98.* The priors and prioresses of Armenian monasteries and nunneries are in charge of administering their cloisters. Two monks or nuns are appointed by them as assistants and presented to the diocesan leaders.

*Article 99.* The priors and prioresses, their assistants, and all members of the cloister have to follow strictly the regulations of their Church and cloister. They have to guard its movable and immovable property and are answerable for the correct use of its income and the practice of the sacred duties of their cloister.

*Article 100.* All income and expenditures of the Armenian cloisters have to be recorded by the administrators of said cloisters and presented annually to the diocesan leaders.

*Article 101.* In the case of the death of the prior or prioress, the members of the cloister, in the presence of senior monks or nuns, will record all the belongings of the cloister and present it to the diocesan leaders, who will then appoint a new prior or prioress for the said cloister.

### *Chapter VII. Concerning the Noncelibate Priests.*

*Article 102.* The noncelibate priests of the Armenian Gregorian Church consist of:

1) Archpriests, priests, archdeacons, deacons, and subdeacons; 2) Junior clergy and church servants.

*Article 103.* Armenians of all walks of life can join the noncelibate hierarchy of the Church providing they have the permission of the Etchmiadzin Synod, the local diocesan leaders, and local authorities. Those who are capable of paying taxes must have the permission of the state senate to join.

*Article 104.* Those who serve as junior clergy or are servants of a church are under the jurisdiction of the leaders of the diocese and must have the approval of the priest in charge of the church.

*Article 105.* Those noncelibate priests who conduct religious services or who arrange for the giving of the sacred *muṛon* must perform their duties seriously and carefully follow Christian teaching. They must lead a modest and honest existence, thus setting an example of piety rather than one of unrestrained frivolity.

*Article 106.* Noncelibate priests of the Armenian Gregorian Church are permitted to have immovable property. Those from noble families may use their titles.

*Article 107.* Houses belonging to the noncelibate priests of the Armenian Gregorian Church are tax-exempt if they reside in them. They are also exempt from paying dues for the repair of bridges, the maintenance of roads, and collection of garbage. They must, however, pay taxes on their harvests and all other obligations required of lay people.

*Article 108.* By marrying, noncelibate priests share their wealth with their wives, to which the latter are entitled after the death of their hus-



bands. Exceptions are made in cases where a legal pre-nuptial agreement has been made or if the widow marries another person and becomes partner to his wealth.

*Article 109.* The children of the attendants of a church may continue to serve the Church and do not have to engage in trade or another profession. If they choose to join the army, they are considered volunteers and not draftees and must complete at least the middle school of their regional seminary or other educational institution. The above does not apply to children who were born before their fathers joined the Church--they shall be treated as the rest of society.

*Article 110.* Noncelibate members of the Armenian Gregorian Church can, if they wish, leave their religious duties. This act has to be approved by the Etchmiadzin Synod and the leadership of the diocese. If they are not members of nobility, they must resume their normal lives and be subject to the law of the land.

*Article 111.* The junior clergy are subject to the leaders of the diocese, and church servants to the archpriest or priest of the church. Complaints against them should be addressed to the leaders of the diocese.

### *Chapter VIII. Concerning Seminaries*

*Article 112.* To give the Armenian youth a religious education, seminaries are established at Etchmiadzin and in all the Armenian dioceses in Russia.

*Article 113.* The Seminary at Etchmiadzin is under the supervision of the catholicos; the other seminaries are under their diocesan leaders.

*Article 114.* The heads of the Armenian seminaries, who are responsible for the religious and moral education of the youth entrusted to them, are required, under the supervision of their diocesan archbishop, to prepare the necessary courses and the internal regulations of the seminary to be presented to the Etchmiadzin Synod. The Synod after its examination and approval, will present it and the names of those in charge of the seminary to the Ministry of the Interior through the governor-general of Georgia, the Caucasus, and Transcaucasia. In addition to religious studies, courses in the Russian language and the history and geography of the Russian Empire are mandatory.

*Article 115.* The consistory can, once every three months, collect funds in the churches and monasteries for the seminary within its terri-

tory. In addition, the monasteries can give an annual sum, from their own income, for the upkeep of their diocesan seminary.

*Article 116.* The seminary council is responsible for submitting an annual report to the leaders of their diocese on all their income, expenditures, and remaining capital.

### ***Chapter IX. Concerning the Financial Administration of the Church***

*Article 117.* All movable and immovable property of Armenian churches, monasteries, and other institutions connected to the Armenian Gregorian Church are considered part of its wealth.

*Article 118.* Produce, cash, or services of any kind and from any source which according to ancient tradition belongs or is donated to an Armenian church shall continue to be honored and given to the diocese where the church is located and shall be administered by the leaders of that diocese, who shall follow the necessary regulations. Any such income to benefit monasteries, however, must be approved by the local authorities as stated in article 96.

*Article 119.* Church capital can be deposited in interest-bearing accounts in state or other institutions. The leaders of the diocese must approve giving the capital to a private financial organization. They are responsible for ensuring that their action is beneficial to the Church and that the money is secure.

*Article 120.* Every Armenian church has to have a complete list of all immovable property, utensils, other equipment, and cash. It also has to have a record of all income and dues of the church. An account book of credit and debit has to be kept in every church.

*Article 121.* Every church has to have a churchwarden or elder to administer the said funds.

*Article 122.* The churchwarden is elected for a period of three years from among respected parishioners. At the conclusion of the three years he can be reelected.

*Article 123.* When a new churchwarden is appointed, he has to conduct an inventory of his church's property and examine the books of the retiring churchwarden, as stated in article 120, prior to taking over.

*Article 124.* The churchwarden is responsible for the maintenance and repair of the church and for administering its income and its expenses. In general he acts as the plenipotentiary who follows prescribed in-

structions. His responsibility, however, is limited to the above and nothing else.

*Article 125.* At the end of the year, the churchwarden has to give a full account of the cash box and his efforts to save money to the general assembly of the parishioners. He then presents his report to the consistory of the diocese.

*Article 126.* The churchwarden who substantially increases the capital of his church or one who, to the satisfaction of his superiors, has held the position three times in a row is entitled to a reward by the general members.

### ***Chapter X. Concerning the Income of Junior Clergy and Attendants and Its Use for Widows and Orphans***

*Article 127.* The junior clergy and attendants of the Church receive an income.

*Article 128.* Their income can be from three sources: 1) A permanent salary upon entering their service; 2) Gifts given to them for performing certain duties; 3) Donations.

*Article 129.* Gifts for performing services come from the following: for prayers for pregnant women, 10 silver kopeks; for baptism, 20 silver kopeks; for the marriage ceremony, 40 silver kopeks; for the burial of adults, 40 silver kopeks; for the burial of children, 20 silver kopeks. There is no charge for giving the Holy Sacrament. The clergy and other attendants of the Armenian Gregorian Church are strictly forbidden to ask more than the above sums for the said services.

*Article 130.* The clergy and attendants cannot refuse to perform the above services without pay or to delay them. They can only appeal to the consistory to pay them from their funds.

*Article 131.* Donations received for the above services are gathered and divided as mentioned below.

*Article 132.* Special registers in Etchmiadzin and all the other Armenian dioceses in Russia are devoted to the widows and orphans of the said clerics and attendants.

*Article 133.* These registers are maintained primarily by donations of God-fearing people. In addition the leaders of each diocese annually allocate, according to their ability, a percentage of their income to these registers.

*Article 134.* The sources of the above donations are either boxes that are placed in each church of a particular diocese, or subscriptions in a special register.

*Article 135.* The leaders of the diocese act as the guardians of the funds for the widows and orphans of their noncelibate church officials. Three respected members of the diocesan hierarchy, appointed by the archbishop of the diocese, are designated as guardians. They do not receive any reward or salary for this duty, but do it as a religious duty.

*Article 136.* The guardians receive all the money from the donation boxes as well as the money from subscriptions and keep an accurate account.

*Article 137.* The guardians are only responsible for providing the widows and orphans of the clergy with the funds necessary for their livelihood and nothing more.

*Article 138.* In distributing this welfare the guardians must observe the following: 1) They will allocate a permanent annual income and avoid, as much as possible, extraordinary or emergency payments; 2) They will give the payment to the same person not more than once a year; 3) They will give priority to a) those widows and orphans who do not have any relatives to take care of them in an emergency; b) those widows who have large families; c) orphans who have no close relatives and are very poor; 4) Payments to widows shall cease if they remarry; payments to female orphans shall cease after they get married; payments to male orphans shall cease after they reach adulthood or when they have been accepted in a seminary.

*Article 139.* The guardians must give a monthly report to the members of the consistory on the available funds in these registers.

*Article 140.* An annual account of all dispositions must be presented to the consistory. Every three years, the guardians must present to the leaders of their diocese council a detailed account of all income and expenditures and the balance of the unexpended cash.

*Article 141.* Complaints regarding the actions of the guardians must be made to the consistory of the diocese, who will pass judgment.

## 364

*Counselor Bludov to Baron Rosen*  
(28 April 1836)<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian catholicos, Hovhannēs, has written that Roman propaganda in Turkey and Persia is directed against his Church and has asked that we put a stop to it.

When the catholicos complained about Roman missionaries in Transcaucasia, you brought it to the attention of His Majesty and the missionaries were given strict instructions about their actions. However, the new demands of the catholicos are not practical and even impossible. I, therefore, took your lead and presented them to His Highness. His Majesty responded that the safeguarding of the catholicos's flock is the responsibility of his own Armenian religious hierarchy.

## 365

*Tsar Nicholas to Baron Rosen*  
(5 June 1836)<sup>2</sup>

We have granted the petition of the late Catholicos Ep'rem regarding the financial regulation of Etchmiadzin. We declare the following villages as the property of Etchmiadzin: Vagharshapat, Mastarakh, Ushadin, Uaikaitar, and Eghvard. The said villages are to be free from all taxes, dues, and services forever. Etchmiadzin, however, cannot increase the taxes paid by the inhabitants and should be satisfied with the taxes and services that the inhabitants presently pay the treasury....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VIII (doc. 216), 297-298, confidential.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 217) 298. Written in St. Petersburg.

<sup>3</sup> On 15 December 1836, Bludov wrote to Rosen that the state had decided to give the Etchmiadzin Synod 3,750 rubles annually from the income of the Armenian province for its various expenses, AKAK, VIII (doc. 221), 303.

## 366

*Baron Rosen to Counselor Bludov*(21 February 1837)<sup>1</sup>

Lt. Col. Artsruni's idea of establishing market fairs in various locations in Transcaucasia has received a response from the minister of finance. He deems that fairs would appeal to the Asiatic lifestyle and may improve the internal commerce of Russia. The idea of a Russo-Asian Trading Company is possible, but something has to be done about the road tolls....

I have to point out, however, that Artsruni's idea has few specifics and rests on generalities. The fairs he mentions are to be established only in Akhaltsikhe, Imeret'i, Mingrelia, and Guria and are to attract not true merchants but the nomads and mountaineers to buy and sell wares. Prior to his suggestion, Artsruni should have familiarized himself with the location and peoples. These locations already have large bazaars and squares with small shops. The main traders in these locations are Armenians and Jews, who sell sugar, tea, coffee, rum, and various other drinks, silk and cotton cloth, as well as coarse cloth made by local peasants or mountaineers....<sup>2</sup>

## 367

*Prince Bebutov to Baron Rosen*(27 February 1837)<sup>3</sup>

On the invitation of the catholicos on the twenty-second of this month I, together with all the civilian and military officials and respected citizens of the province entrusted to me attended the ceremony of the opening of the Armenian Synod at the Etchmiadzin monastery, required by the Imperial decree of 11 March 1836, regarding the statutes regulating the Armenian Church.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 101), 182-183.

<sup>2</sup> The document goes to list all the different marketplaces, squares, and bazaars of Georgia. Rosen added that the Armenians of Akhaltsikhe, despite all his efforts, were still trading in Turkey. Kars and Gumri were transit points of most of the trade with Turkey.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 223), 306.

IX  
(May 1838-March 1845)

368  
*General Golovin*<sup>1</sup> to *Counselor Bludov*  
(19 May 1838)<sup>2</sup>

I related to Catholicos Hovhannēs your report of 8 February of this year regarding the Armenians of Turkey, in which you stated that it was not the right time to pursue the question of the relations between Turkish Armenians and Etchmiadzin and that our mission in Constantinople had already succeeded in bringing the Turkish Armenian clergy to Etchmiadzin's side.

I received a response from the catholicos on 26 April. He is of the opinion that, for the time being, it is better to put aside his demand that all Armenians in Turkey be under Etchmiadzin. He added that the efforts of our mission in Constantinople to bring the Armenian clergy closer to Etchmiadzin had accomplished part of his wish.

Catholicos Hovhannēs has agreed not to ask for accounts from the patriarch of Constantinople. However, during the last twelve years, much immovable property willed to Etchmiadzin by Turkish Armenians, has been taken into the possession of the patriarchate and the heads of the various dioceses in Turkey. Etchmiadzin has no proof of any income from these properties and it would be grateful if we commit ourselves to bringing them under its supervision.

In order to carry out the requests of the catholicos, I suggest that, following the advice of my predecessor communicated to you on 17 August 1837, we ask the patriarch of Constantinople to supply Etchmiadzin with a list of all properties left by the Armenians of Turkey that give an income. The income from them will then be sent annually

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<sup>1</sup> E. F. Golovin' was administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1837 to 1842.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 145), 109.

to Etchmiadzin with the necessary documentation. It would also be good to convince the patriarch of Constantinople to inform the catholicos of all future wills benefiting Etchmiadzin and to send the income to the catholicosate. All of the above, however, as our mission has noted, has to be done with the consent of the Turkish authorities, who may not permit our entering into relations with the patriarch of Constantinople.

## 369

*Count Stroganov<sup>1</sup> to General Golovin'*  
(28 March 1839)<sup>2</sup>

On 20 February, you informed my predecessor that the Armenian Synod at Etchmiadzin had decided that, since the Karabagh consistory did not have enough funds to administer its diocese, its only solution was to seek permission to gather from the Armenians of Sheki 20 kopeks in silver from each family annually, as well as 1 ruble in the form of a special tax. Such taxes are already being collected in Karabagh, and thus the inhabitants of Sheki will be on a par with the rest of the region. The Synod also requested that we ask the Muslim leaders there not to add additional tax burdens on the Armenians, unless they are requested to do so by the Armenian religious leadership. As articles 96 and 118 of the Imperial *polozhenie* of 11 March 1836, regulating the Armenian Church, states that permission to collect taxes to benefit the Armenian religious hierarchy has to be granted according to established custom or voluntarily, you asked the Ministry of the Interior to review the request of the Synod.

Articles 96 and 118, as you stated, are not enough to grant the request of the Synod. But since other Armenian communities in the region are already paying 1 ruble and 20 kopeks, the Ministry of the Interior, taking into account the difficulties of the Karabagh consistory, approves that the local officials collect the said sum to benefit the Karabagh diocese. Furthermore, your supervision will ensure that no other religious dues burden the population....

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<sup>1</sup> A. G. Stroganov was minister of internal affairs from 1839 to 1841.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc 146).



## 370

*Count Stroganov to General Golovin'*(10 May 1840)<sup>1</sup>

I received your report of 2 August 1839 concerning the decree of Catholicos Hovhannēs in response to the patriarch of Constantinople's letter about the sums gathered by the Turkish Armenians for Etchmiadzin. I requested you to send me the patriarch's original letter that resulted in the above decree [which you did submit with the above report].

From the letter it is clear that patriarch of Constantinople, Hakob, is seeking to sever all discussions with the Holy See of Etchmiadzin that are channeled through our envoy in Constantinople. Any involvement of our envoy, Butenev, especially in obtaining the list of Etchmiadzin's money in Turkey, will have an adverse effect on the local Armenians. It will appear as if the catholicos does not trust the leaders of the Turkish Armenians.

The demands of the patriarch of Constantinople concerning the uninvolvement of our envoy to the Ottoman Porte is political and requires delicate handling. I thus submitted both documents to the vice-chancellor, Count Nessel'rode, for his opinion in this matter. He was to decide if the catholicos's decree misinterpreted the patriarch's letter, or if it fell within the agreement of our relations--and that of our envoy-- with Turkey regarding Etchmiadzin. I suggested that if it did not, we do not endanger our diplomacy by aggressive and impolite gestures.

Count Nessel'rode examined Hakob's letter and concluded that it contained no arrogance nor was it reprehensible. However, in order not to damage the relations between the Holy See and the patriarchate of Constantinople, His Excellency Karl Vasil'evich [Nessel'rode], suggested that we approach the matter with extreme care. He suggested that Butenev present the decree of the catholicos only if he was sure of the reaction of the local leaders, and even then to soften its message by stating that the catholicos trusted the Armenians of Turkey and wished, as in the past, to keep the friendly ties between the two religious hierarchies. Butenev, following the advice of the vice-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 147).

chancellor, decided not to present the catholicos' decree. Instead, he found a trusted individual to take a message to the patriarch and to explain the entire situation. He assured the patriarch that the Russian mission had nothing to do with Etchmiadzin's behavior and that the mission's main concern was the good of the Turkish Armenian community and its relations with its own government. Furthermore, it was made clear that the Imperial Court of Russia had the aim of strengthening the ties between Etchmiadzin and the Armenian Church in Turkey, hoping for a spiritual unity between the two. The patriarch listened with great attention and responded that he would continue to observe his duty vis-à-vis the Catholicos of All Armenians. Realizing the inadvisability of sending the catholicos's decree to the patriarch, Butenev has locked it in the safe of the mission.

## 371

*General Golovin' to Count Chernyshev*(10 July 1840)<sup>1</sup>

In my report of 27 June I informed Your Excellency about the earthquake of 20 June [in Nakhichevan].<sup>2</sup> I have now received information that on that same day after 7 o'clock in the evening, Erevan suffered an earthquake as well. There were four strong jolts on the night of twentieth and twenty-first and six weaker shakes during the day of the twenty-first. In many villages in the Armenian province in the vicinity of Mt. Ararat weaker jolts were felt until the twenty-sixth.

In addition to structural damage in the cities of Erevan and Nakhichevan, a large chunk of earth and stones has slid from Mt. Ararat and has covered the village of Akhuri in Surmalu, killing up to 1,000 people. Only 107 people of both sexes have survived from that settlement. On the twenty-fourth at 9 in the morning another landslide occurred, its roar being heard twenty *versts* away. Floods of snow, mixed with water, gravel, and mud covered homes and fields in the villages of Aralikh, Sirbogan, and Dzhuvtluk. The monastery of St. Hakob and

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 495), 579-580.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 494), 579. It states that the earthquake struck the city of Nakhichevan after 7 o'clock in the evening.

the house of the sardar, in the vicinity of the village of Akhuri, were totally ruined.

In the Sharur district the jolts were strong and continued for a long time, in some places up to the twenty-ninth of the month. Homes and other structures were destroyed, killing 13 people of both sexes and 253 goats and sheep.

The top crust of the Nakhichevan salt mines cracked and the salt dig was damaged, hence the operation has temporarily ceased.

The fortress of Shushi also felt an earthquake at 7 in the evening on the twentieth. It lasted a minute, accompanied by loud underground rumble. Two strong jolts shook the town at 9 in the evening, lasting ten seconds. No major damage or loss of life was reported, however.<sup>1</sup>

### 372

#### *General Raevskii's Report on Trade*

(1841)<sup>2</sup>

A wealthy and very powerful English company of merchants has been established in Trebizond. They plan to dominate the entire trade of

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<sup>1</sup> The full report was submitted by Major Voskoboinikov to Golovin' on 25 November of that year. The earthquake struck Nakhichevan at 7:45 in the evening. The region between the rivers Arax, Kara-su, and Arpachay was the most damaged. Houses in Mākū in Persia and Bayazid in Turkey were damaged. Besides the village of Akhuri and the monastery of St. Hakob nearby, all houses in the Sharur, Nakhichevan, and Ordubad regions were either totally ruined or severely damaged. The waters of the Arax overflowed their banks and flooded the neighboring settlements of Karchalu, Alishar, and Kara-Hasanlu. In Sharur, 3,135 houses and 75 mills were destroyed; 2,436 houses, 1 church, 2 mosques, and 17 mills were damaged in Nakhichevan, and 2 churches, 5 mosques, 779 houses, and 25 private and state-owned shops were destroyed. Altogether, 1,005 houses, 9 churches, 5 mosques, and 15 mills were totally destroyed in the Nakhichevan region. In Ordubad 166 houses were ruined. In addition to the 1,000 people who died on Mt. Ararat, 33 died in Sharur, 16 in Nakhichevan, and some two dozen were wounded. Aftershocks were felt in Tabriz, Tiflis, and Shushi until the 30th, *ibid.*, (doc. 496), 580-584. On 25 November another earthquake hit the Nakhichevan-Sharur region at 6:40 in the evening, causing further damage. Aftershocks continued until the 28th, causing damage and wounding some, but no loss of life was reported, *ibid.*, (doc. 497), 584, from Golovin' to Chernyshev.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 414), 474-475. The report was a respond to an inquiry by the minister of the interior to Golovin' on 7 November 1840. Sections dealing with Transcaucasian trade (part 4) have been translated here.

Asia Minor and Persia. Like all English companies, they strive to take over the political control of these states. They already have some of the local chiefs in their pay. They have managed to bend the Sultan and the local population and have indirectly benefited us by stopping all smuggling activities along the east coast of the Black Sea. The company is not friendly to us, for it resents our military victories and our customs regulations. The company is aware, however, that our Transcaucasian customs controls are, at present, rudimentary, and has thus flooded Transcaucasia with its manufactured goods, via Turkey and Persia. The English wish to control the trade of the east coast of Black Sea, hence they support the animosity of the [Caucasian] mountaineers towards us. The famous Bell<sup>1</sup> was one of the agents of this company. Offering goods at low prices and permitting long payment plans, they have hurt the local small and medium businesses. Overall, they have managed to attract those who transport and those who sell the goods into their orbit.

Our government would wish to destroy the English trade and sell Russian goods. Unfortunately we have to admit that our merchants use wagons to transport goods from the Makar'ev fair to Tiflis via the Georgian Military Road. Our merchants have not yet realized that they can take products from Moscow, the center of Russian manufacturing, and, via the Volga and the Caspian Sea, bring it to Baku, from where it can reach all of Transcaucasia, or that if they take it via Anzali, Azerbaijan, and Astarabad they can reach the northern coast of Persia, as well as Tehran. Our merchants take an even stranger route to transport their goods to the east coast of the Black Sea. Goods from Tiflis are transported on bullocks through Imeret'i, Abkhazia, Guria, and Mingrelia. It seems that Russian merchants not only have not heard of the ports on the Caspian Sea, but they are unaware of Sukhumi, as well.

Several Armenian and Greek boats do bring a limited quantity of salt and iron from the Crimea to Abkhazia and Mingrelia. A few Persian settlers in Astrakhan take Russian goods to the Caspian ports--these are the sad examples of Russian trade in the Caspian and the east coast of the Black Sea.

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the document refers to J. Bell, who traveled in Russia and Asia and wrote *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Various Parts of Asia*, 2 vols (St. Petersburg, 1788).

It would be desirable for us to finally realize that the Georgian Military Road is not suitable for trade but should be used solely for military purposes. All trade from eastern Russia to Georgia [and Transcaucasia] should go through Baku and all European trade from western Russia through the Black Sea via Sukhumi....<sup>1</sup>

## 373

*Report on Armenian Catholics*(13 October 1841)<sup>2</sup>

In 1831 the Armenian Catholic priest, Ep'rem Set, was decorated for services rendered to the Russian Empire. He was born in Constantinople, and had studied at the San Lazzaro monastery in Venice before he came to Tiflis and joined our forces in Erzerum. From there he transported six hundred Armenian Catholic families to Akhaltsikhe, where he was designated the vicar by the Roman Catholic prefect of Tiflis, Philip, by the order of the head of the Roman Catholics in Russia.

Baron Rosen, informed the minister of the interior of the above on 10 February 1832, adding that there are many such Catholic missionaries in Transcaucasia. He stated that it would be better to replace them with Catholics educated in Russia. However, they would definitely have to know Armenian. It would also be advantageous if they had their own leadership, income, and if they were subjects of Russia.

Active Privy Counselor Bludov, in his report of 12 March 1832, although agreeing with Baron Rosen, wished to ascertain the opinion of the foreign section of the Department of Religious Affairs on the reaction of the Roman Catholic Collegium to the establishment of an Armenian Catholic diocese in Russia. He also wondered about the possibility of establishing a sector on Armenian religion within the religious faculty of Vilnius (Vilno/Wilno) University. In the meantime, Baron Rosen became aware that Set had contacts with the Armenian

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<sup>1</sup> The document goes on to complain about smuggling in the Caucasus. Armenians and Greeks were also the main merchants in Anapa, where they sold goods to the mountaineers. In just one month (1 September to 1 October 1840) they sold 5,700 silver rubles of goods.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 148), 111-116. Repetitious and irrelevant data has been abridged.

Catholic Academy in Venice, which planned to send teachers to Transcaucasia for the Armenian children. Rosen felt that this was against our policy and asked the Ministry of the Interior to bar the religious teachers from Venice.

Counselor Bludov informed Baron Rosen on 20 October 1832 that His Imperial Majesty was informed of the situation and that the Emperor had ordered that under no circumstances should Catholic teachers be allowed to come in contact with the people of Transcaucasia. No foreign missionaries were to be permitted in Russia. Catholics in Russia were to be educated by Russian subjects and could study in the religious faculty of the University in Vilnius. However, since it would be some time before the teachers at Vilnius could learn Armenian, His Majesty allowed a temporary contact with the academy in Venice and permitted a few of their clergy to reside in Transcaucasia.

Baron Rosen left the above correspondence with the minister of the interior, as well as his notes to Governor Prince Palavandov, and letters of the Armenian Catholic priest, Shahkulov, to his [Rosen's] successor, General Golovin'. Prince Palavandov's letters concerned the election of a Polish [Armenian] Catholic priest to replace Ep'rem Set, while those of Shahkulov discussed the establishment of an Armenian Catholic diocese run by Russian Armenian subjects in Tiflis....

Baron Hahn (Gan)<sup>1</sup> wrote to General Golovin' that even prior to Golovin's appointment, the minister of the interior had asked him to look into the matter of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Transcaucasia. In his research Baron Hahn found differences between the Roman Catholics and Armenian Catholics....<sup>2</sup> Baron Hahn stated that on 7 October 1810, a royal decree permitted the establishment of a Catholic Armenian seminary under a bishop. The bishop died in 1822 and the seminary never functioned. In 1832 it was suggested that the religious faculty of University of Vilnius learn Armenian, so that our Catholics, most of whom are Poles, can preach among the Armenians....

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<sup>1</sup> P. V. Hahn came to Georgia in 1837 to devise a new Caucasian administration. He was responsible for the dismissal of Baron Rosen and the introduction of a new centralized policy, which proved a failure.

<sup>2</sup> The document goes on to list some of the differences, most of which are inaccurate.

The region of Akhaltsikhe and the Black Sea coast and its Catholics were under the supervision of the Armenian Catholic bishop of Constantinople. Following the Treaty of Adrianople, however, the Roman Catholic bishop of Constantinople took control of that region. Since the right to prepare anointing oil is in the hands of the Roman Catholic bishop in Constantinople, he annually sends it to his chief pastor, a Capuchine monk, in Tiflis, and they thus rule over the Armenian Catholics of Erzerum, who have resettled in Akhaltsikhe....

It is important to note that there are only 94 males and 93 females who belong to the Roman Catholic Church, while 4,800 men and 4,500 women follow the Armenian Catholic faith.<sup>1</sup> We have to make sure that Catholic bishops and missionaries in Transcaucasia are subjects of Russia and not of Rome. We have to remember the following:

There are thirty educated Catholic priests [Russian subjects] in Transcaucasia; we should be able to find one among them to elevate to the rank of bishop.

There are two candidates for this position: a) The vice-deacon of Akhaltsikhe, who, because of his loyalty to Russia, has been demoted from the rank of bishop by Rome; b) Vardapet Paul Shahkulov of Tiflis, who was born in Akhaltsikhe and, despite his age, is a capable and loyal subject....

The Roman Catholic community in Transcaucasia is very small and there is no need for foreign priests. They can be served by Russian-subject Catholic or Armenian Catholic priests. We shall thus keep the Armenian Catholics away from Roman propaganda....

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*General Golovin' to Count Perovskii*<sup>2</sup>

(10 December 1841)<sup>3</sup>

From the reports of Barons Rosen and Hahn you are aware of the situation with the Catholic Armenians in Transcaucasia and the Roman missionaries.

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<sup>1</sup> The Armenian Catholics of San Lazzaro had permission to conduct the mass in Armenian and to observe certain traditional Armenian customs. They were, therefore, more successful among the Armenians in Turkey and Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. Perovskii was minister of internal affairs from 1841 to 1852.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 149), 116, confidential report.

Not knowing the reaction of the Ministry of the Interior to Baron Hahn's report regarding the establishment of a bishopric for the Catholic Armenians and the curtailment of Roman propaganda among them, I have received two requests: The Catholic Armenians from Akhaltsikhe, under the direction of priest Shahkulov, have petitioned that we remove Simēon Nulajean of Kars from their community. They accuse him of being loyal to Venice [and Rome] and of being in secret communications with them against our government. The second petition is from the Armenian Catholics of Tiflis, who accuse their leader of not preparing any local Armenians for the priesthood, so that they will continue to rely on Roman clergy.

Shahkulov is so opposed to the Roman hierarchy in Transcaucasia that he suggests we send a local Armenian, at government expense, to Russia to study with a Russian or Armenian Catholic priest.

These petitions were handled in a secret fashion and I am forwarding them to seek your opinion, if they agree with Baron Hahn's suggestions....

I am obliged to carry out His Majesty's order, which empowered me on 30 April of this year to create an Armenian Catholic hierarchy in Transcaucasia. I, therefore, ask that you let me know of your decision and opinion as soon as possible....

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*General Golovin' to Count Perovskii*

(28 January 1842)<sup>1</sup>

Following the departure of Simēon Nulajean, seven local Armenians were recruited by Shahkulov to study in Russia. Two of them have become priests, the others were not truly qualified for that position. The two now have to gain experience to be able to attend to the needs of the Armenian Catholics....

As to Simēon Nulajean: My secret inquiries have found that he was not born in Kars but in Erzerum, and his real family name is Zhuliardian. When we took Erzerum in 1829 he, sixteen at the time, left for Venice to study with the Roman Catholics and he became a priest. In 1837 he was sent to Akhaltsikhe to replace the late priest Frer. From

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 150), 117, confidential report.



the time of his arrival he and his brother, who had relocated to Akhaltsikhe from Erzerum, did not obey the Russian Armenian Catholic chief, Pōghos Shahkulov. Instead they tried to cause division among the Catholic Armenians and kept secret ties with the Roman Catholic leaders in Akhaltsikhe and Venice....

Six months ago Simēon left Akhaltsikhe for the Crimea, but he settled in Tiflis instead. This January he returned to Akhaltsikhe. He is a man of good disposition, educated and has a sound mind. I did not have a chance to meet him here in Tiflis, but I did receive a letter from the Roman vice-prefect in Georgia, Buonaventura, who requested that we protect Simēon from his enemies....

I have secretly written to our military chief in Akhaltsikhe, asking him to keep an eye on the priest and to guard him against attacks from local Armenian Catholics. I have instructed him to bring peace between the two factions....

## 376

*Report on Conditions in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia from the Beginning of 1838 to the End of 1842<sup>1</sup>*

Eskandar Beg, the son of Hōseyn Khan of Sheki,<sup>2</sup> who died in Persia, has united with Aqa-Beg of Rutul,<sup>3</sup> and together they have gathered a marauding band in Sheki.

The cunning Tatar deceived the local inhabitants of Sheki [into thinking] that he is one of them and is concerned for their welfare. He promised that their lives would improve after they killed all the Russians and the Armenians. During that time the Lesghians did not bother the inhabitants, which increased his stature among the people and hurt our prestige. Many of the local [Muslim] people joined the mountaineers, and they soon occupied Nukha. Only the fortress, which

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 278-306. This detailed report by General Golovin' has a wealth of information on the Georgians, Turko-Tatars, and various mountain tribes of the Caucasus. Sections dealing with the Armenians (p. 283) have been translated here.

<sup>2</sup> Hōseyn Khan returned from Persia in 1837 and immediately began his anti-Russian activities. He was arrested in Nukha in 1838 and was tried by a military court. He escaped from prison and sought refuge in northern Kuba, where he kept contact with Shamil's sympathizers.

<sup>3</sup> A district in southern Daghestan.

housed some<sup>1</sup> of the population [Armenians and Russians] and a battalion remained.<sup>2</sup>

The entire Muslim province could have erupted in rebellion had not Colonel Bezobrazov, with a small force, arrived on the scene. News that Lieutenant General Fezi<sup>3</sup> and his army were on their way from northern Daghestan forced the Lesghians to flee to the mountains.

In the meantime, Colonel Prince Argutinskii, with a small force marched to Sheki and from there to Samur, where he fought Aqa-Beg in the vicinity of the village of Khachmaz and forced the latter to flee to Persia via the Muslim province.<sup>4</sup>

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*General Neidgardt<sup>5</sup> to Count Perovskii*

(7 January 1843)<sup>6</sup>

My predecessor had informed you of the death of Catholicos Hovhannēs and the calling of representatives for the election of a new catholicos, as required by the Imperial decree of the regulation of 11 March 1836....

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<sup>1</sup> A district in southern Daghestan.

<sup>2</sup> The Russians and Armenians, totaling some 500 people, consisted of soldiers as well as Armenian merchants and civilians from the Armenian quarter of Nukha, who were given arms by the Russian officers. The Lesghians entered Nukha on 31 August 1838 and came within 15 *sazhen* of the fort, positioning themselves in the surrounding gardens and orchards. The Russian relief force arrived on 1 September, and on 2 September the Lesghians fled to the mountains; see report of 14 September to Chernyshev, *AKAK*, IX (doc. 286), 320.

<sup>3</sup> K. K. Fezi captured a number of Shamil's strongholds. Shortage of food and casualties, however, forced him to conclude a truce with Shamil on 3 July 1837.

<sup>4</sup> Transcaucasia remained for the most part quiet after that. All activities were in the Caucasus and along the Black Sea coast.

<sup>5</sup> A. I. Neidgardt was administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1842 to 1844.

<sup>6</sup> *AKAK*, IX (doc. 597), 713 (confidential).

## 378

*Count Perovskii to General Neidgardt*(9 February 1843)<sup>1</sup>

In your report of 7 January you informed me of your findings regarding the election of the Armenian catholicos.

From information that has reached His Majesty from the Armenians of Turkey and Persia, His Highness has concluded that the Turkish Armenians are not planning to send a delegation to Etchmiadzin and have indicated that they will support the candidates chosen by the Synod. The Persian Armenians have elected a delegation, which will be coming to Etchmiadzin. Only the actions of the Armenians of India, who compose the smallest group of the Armenian people, remain to be seen. His Majesty has instructed me to inform you to be sure that the election takes place when the delegates [from Persia and Russia] and the decrees from Turkey arrive. As to the election itself, His Majesty wishes that you do not go against the *polozhenie* regarding the Armenian Church, as well as observing the customs of Asiatics.

Since the catholicos at Etchmiadzin has authority over all the Armenians in our Empire, whose well-being is our moral responsibility, His Imperial Majesty has asked me to instruct you to pay great attention to the upcoming election of the catholicos and to send a special official, who, under your direction, will find out the wishes of the local Armenian population. By mingling with the foreign delegates, he is also to ascertain which of the candidates have the interests of Russia and the Armenians in Russia at heart, and who has the support of the Synod and the delegates, even if the final candidate is not a Russian subject.

I have suggested to His Majesty that an official from the Ministry of the Interior--State Counselor, Zheltoukhov--and a functionary from the Department of Religious Affairs Concerning Foreign Creeds--Chamber Secretary Arapetov [Hayrapetov]--be appointed to the [above] task.

Counselor Zheltoukhov has been instructed to depart immediately for Tiflis, where he shall present himself to you for your exact instructions.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (docs. 598-599), 714-715 (two confidential reports sent the same day).

## 379

*General Neidgardt to Count Perovski*(24 April 1843)<sup>1</sup>

I have received from Counselor Zheltoukhov and from our procurator at the Synod, Matinov, the following details of the electoral process at Etchmiadzin:

1) The election began on 15 April and continued until the sixteenth or seventeenth in a quiet and orderly fashion, with strict observance of all the rules. The total number of the electors were twenty-six, among whom were members of the Etchmiadzin Synod, as well as representatives from Persia (Tabriz) and Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

2) The first day, 15 April, was spent in prayers and liturgies.

3) On the next day, the sixteenth, the names of all Armenian archbishops in Russia and abroad were read and four candidates were elected:

a) The archbishop of Bessarabia, Nersēs, received a unanimous vote.

b) The archbishop of Jerusalem, Zak'aria, received twenty-one votes for, and five opposed

c) The previous patriarch of Jerusalem, Poghōs, received fourteen votes for, twelve against.

d) The previous patriarch of Constantinople, Karapet, received seventeen votes for, and nine against.

4) On the third day, the seventeenth, after the liturgy the delegates proceeded to elect two out of the four candidates. Archbishop Nersēs once again received a total of twenty-six votes. In addition, letters supporting his candidacy were presented from Armenians in the dioceses of Bessarabia, Karabagh, Russia, Georgia-Imeret'i, Isfahan, and India.

5) Zak'aria, the archbishop of Jerusalem, received nine opposing votes on that day and seventeen in his favor, fifteen of which came from the Etchmiadzin hierarchy. Zak'aria had been to Etchmiadzin four years before, when, due to the old age and illness of the patriarch of Jerusalem, he was elevated from the rank of vardapet to bishop to

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<sup>1</sup>AKAK, IX (doc. 600), 715.

<sup>2</sup>It seems that Armenian representatives from Turkey did come, after all.

serve as the new patriarch. He has yet to be anointed to that position, however [Poghōs still lives].

I await the formal list from the delegates at Etchmiadzin, when I shall submit it to you.

## 380

*Count Perovskii to General Neidgardt*(6 June 1843)<sup>1</sup>

Following my report regarding the unanimous election to the throne of the catholicos of Archbishop Nersēs, the head of the Armenian diocese of Bessarabia and [New] Nakhichevan], His Majesty, taking into account the wishes of the Armenian people, has ordered me to prepare the decree and to invite Nersēs to St. Petersburg.

## 381

*Decree of Tsar Nicholas*(10 August 1843)<sup>2</sup>

To all the Armenian people: Let it be known that because of your unanimous will taken in Etchmiadzin on the seventeenth day of April in 1843, We confirm Archbishop Nersēs in the position of Supreme Patriarch, to serve the Lord and Our beloved people of Haik. Granted in Our throne city, St. Petersburg, in the summer from the Birth of Christ, the tenth day of August 1843, in the eighteenth year of Our reign.

## 382

*Count Perovskii to General Neidgardt*(30 October 1843)<sup>3</sup>

After the confirmation of Archbishop Nersēs as the Catholicos of All Armenians, the Emperor, in His benevolence, instructed that gifts from his private treasury be given to the candidate who was second in

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 601), 715.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 602), 715.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 603), 715-716.

line, Zak'aria, the patriarch of Jerusalem; to Vardapet Petros from Turkey; and to Vardapet Simēon from Persia. The first was presented with a jewel-encrusted *panagia*, while the others received jeweled crosses.

The *panagia* was sent to our local embassy and the crosses to you, to be forwarded to their destinations.

## 383

*Report of General Neidgardt*  
(1843)<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the survey which began in 1841 and is being completed,<sup>2</sup> there were three general surveys in Transcaucasia: 1803-1805, 1816-1817, and 1830-1832.

1) The first conducted on the order of General Tsitsianov, began on 2 April 1803 and continued until 1805. It surveyed the population of the districts which were then part of Georgia. A new survey of the population of Tiflis was conducted in 1808. A survey of the Elisavet-pol' *okrug* was conducted in 1808 as well.

2) The next survey was conducted on the order of General Rtishchev in 1816-1817. It surveyed all the Transcaucasian region then under Russian rule. The reason for it was the complaints by peasants that their tax assessments were high, since a large number of them had either left to go abroad or had died from infectious diseases. Parts of that survey, relating to T'elavi and Borchalu, were updated in 1821 and in 1823. In 1817 General Ermolov ordered a confidential survey of Tiflis *uezd*. A survey of Imeret'i was completed in 1823. In 1819 the province of Sheki was surveyed in 1823 after the death of Major General Esma'il Khan. The survey was repeated in 1824 to examine the claims of begs regarding state-owned peasants. Following the flight of Moṣṭafā Khan, a survey was conducted in the Shirvan province in 1820. Following the flight of Mahdī-qolī Khan in 1823, a survey was conducted in the Karabagh province. Between 1829 and 1832 a survey was conducted in the former Armenian province (Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Ordubad).

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 519), 603-604.

<sup>2</sup> See document 384 below.

3) A general survey of Transcaucasia was ordered by Imperial decree at the request of the minister of finance in 1827. It was conducted between 1830 and 1832 and included the following: a) Georgia: Tiflis, Dushet, Gori, T'elavi, Signaghi, Elisavetpol' *okrugs*; Borchalu, Kazakh, Shamshadil, Pambak-Shuragol, Pshav-Khevsur, and Tushin *distatsii*s, and the mountaineers who live along the Georgian Military Road; b) Imeret'i *oblast'*, and its environs belonging to Georgian nobles; c) Muslim province (Sheki, Karabagh, and Shirvan); d) Daghestan province (Baku, Kuba, and Derbent); e) The pashalik of Akhaltsikhe, which was annexed from Turkey.

In 1836, in response to a request of Georgian nobles, Baron Rosen ordered a survey to assess taxes. In 1837, the military commander of Derbent conducted a new survey of his districts after the famine of 1833, which killed some inhabitants and forced others to emigrate. A survey was conducted in Akhaltsikhe in 1839. Between 1839 and 1840 the data for the entire Georgian *guberniia* was re-examined by Commissioner Bezak' to reassess the tax liability of the inhabitants, who claimed that cholera and plague had killed some, and that others [Muslims] had left for Persia and Turkey. Since that evaluation was not completed, it was decided to conduct a general survey [which began in 1841].

### 384

#### *Survey of Transcaucasia* (1843)<sup>1</sup>

The Transcaucasian region (*krai*) is composed of two general administrative units: the Georgian-Imeret'ian province and the Caspian province. The first contains ten districts (*uezds*): Tiflis, T'elavi, Gori, Kutais, Guria, Akhaltsikhe, Alexandropol', Elisavetpol', Erevan, and Nakhichevan and four *okrugs*: Belakan, Gorsk, Ossetia, and Tushino-Pshavo-Khevsur. In February of 1843, the last three of the *okrugs*

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<sup>1</sup> In December of 1843, General Neidgardt submitted a detailed report on Transcaucasia to St. Petersburg, *AKAK*, IX (doc. 520), 604-618. The report contained surveys on population, products, taxes, professions, minerals (including oil), trade, post, quarantine, income and expenditures, and other important data. Parts of the report dealing with the Armenians is translated here. The original report is in a table format.

were united under one administrative chief, who was previously in charge of Gorsk. The Caspian province contains seven *uezds*: Shirvan, Sheki, Karabagh, Talesh, Baku, Kuba, and Derbent....

The first province has one provincial city [Tiflis], 8 *uezd* towns, and 3 small towns [in *okrugs*]. It has 3,251 villages and small towns. The second province has 6 towns in *uezds* and 2,232 villages and small towns.

The population of the first province in 1843 was 979,021 and of the second, 504,371, for a total of 1,483,392. Of these 31,656 were nobles, meliks, sultans, and begs; 22,524 clerics; 35,410 city dwellers; 25,596 military *nokars*, *kadkodas*, tax-exempt *mu'af*, *kingerlis*, and *namnauz*; 1,356,848 various peasants, 11,358 colonists and *Roskolniks*.<sup>1</sup> There were 692,151 Muslims, 477,779 Orthodox,<sup>2</sup> 282,339 Armenian-Gregorians, 11,772 Jews, 7,985 Catholics [most of them Armenians], 2,943 Lutherans [8 of them Armenians], 8,423 *Roskolniks*. Out of the total population, 89,702 were engaged in some sort of nomadic life....

Protecting and patronizing the Armenians is important because a large percentage of them form the main manufacturing and trading class [in Transcaucasia]. In addition, the benevolence of His Imperial Majesty toward the Armenian Church, the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, and the Catholicos of All Armenians plays a crucial part in the internal and external affairs of the Russian Empire. We must thus ignore the minor problems in the Armenian Church which were caused by the weakness [illness] of the late catholicos and the disorganization following his death....

### 385

#### *Count Perovskii to General Neidgardt*

(26 March 1844)<sup>3</sup>

Catholicos Nersēs has confidentially informed me that, following numerous reports of irregularities in the Etchmiadzin Synod, he requested an accounting from that body. He has concluded that indeed the Synod does not deserve approval. He states that among the mem-

<sup>1</sup> Russian schismatics.

<sup>2</sup> The majority were Georgians, the rest were Russians.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 604), 716 (confidential).



bers of the Synod, there are individuals who, ruled by outsiders, are doing evil. The general consensus that two members in particular, Bishop Hovsēp' and Step'an of Ararat, are responsible has been confirmed by the catholicos, after he received reports from Georgia and other dioceses. Therefore, to resolve the problems and in order not to start his reign with harsh acts, the catholicos has requested that they be sent away from the Holy See, to Mozdok, without losing their membership in the Synod or other prerogatives. They are to be among those who greet him in Mozdok when he arrives there.

In recognizing the wish of the catholicos, it is my duty to request that you ask the Synod at Etchmiadzin, without any explanations or hints of the true reasons, to dispatch the two clerics named above to Mozdok to prepare the welcoming of the catholicos-elect. They are to await there until the arrival of the catholicos, who will make his future will known at that time.

## 386

*General Gurko to the Etchmiadzin Synod*(16 April 1844)<sup>1</sup>

It is the decision of the High Command [of the Caucasus] that the Supreme Catholicos of All Armenians, Nersēs, be welcomed in the city of Mozdok by two members of the Synod.

Archbishops Hovsēp' and Step'an of Ararat have been selected, and in informing you of the wish of the administrator in chief, I request that the Synod dispatch them without delay to Mozdok to await the arrival of the catholicos. The Synod is to provide them with all necessary means and upon arrival in Tiflis they are to report to me for further instructions.

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 605), 716.

## 387

*Privy Counselor Titov to General Neidgardt*(14 September 1844)<sup>1</sup>

I consider it my duty to submit a copy of my report to the ministry regarding the relations of Turkish Armenians with the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, as well as the translation of the document signed recently by the Armenians of Constantinople.

*Report of Envoy Titov to Count Vorontsov-Dashkov*

(14 September 1844)

Information gathered by me from 4-24 August indicates that the Porte, as well as the Armenian religious and lay leaders of Constantinople, have accepted Catholicos Nersēs and have issued proclamations to that effect. The local Armenians, however, fears the Turkish government and because the local clergy wishes to keep its financial and political power, they are behaving in a circumspect manner and have kept themselves distant from Etchmiadzin, which is the center of their religion. As a proof of this allow me to present the original copy and a translation of a declaration signed by the Armenian leadership<sup>2</sup> on the sixth of this month, which was sent to me by Patriarch Matt'ēos. I am also including the comments of the dragoman of our mission, Gama-zov, regarding the Armenian religious hierarchy at Constantinople:

1)The Armenians of Constantinople have accepted Nersēs as the head of their Church and mention his name in all the masses. This was also done for the late Catholicos Hovhannēs, with the approval of the Porte. 2)The Armenian bankers (*amira*) at Constantinople state, however, that for their own safety, the Armenians and the representatives of their Church should not upset the Porte in any way. The religious hierarchy here should not encourage the catholicos to send any priests to Turkey. The bankers, for the benefit of the Porte and the Turkish population at large, have asked the local clergy to act on their own in certain matters. 3)The obtaining of holy *murōn* and the collection of dues for Etchmiadzin will continue, however.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 606), 716-717.

<sup>2</sup> Armenian text has *Azgayin Zhoghov* or National Assembly.

It is my opinion that the ties between Etchmiadzin and the patriarchate in Istanbul have to be strengthened, keeping in mind the financial agreements between the two and the reaction of the Turkish government. I suggest that the administrator in chief, prior to publishing the declaration from the Turkish Armenians, seek the opinion of the minister in St. Petersburg. Patriarch Matt'ēos is preparing himself for the forthcoming decree from the catholicos, and we shall learn of Etchmiadzin's reaction to the enclosed document.

## 388

*Report of Captain Pruzhanovskii*<sup>1</sup>  
(4 March 1845)<sup>2</sup>

Major General Mahdī-qolī Khan, in his letter, has informed me that certain individuals have illegally usurped lands in Karabagh.

The letter makes it obvious that he complains only against those who are not in his favor, although even there he has forgotten and has complained against land usurpation in Aghdam and other areas.

It is true that in Karabagh various begs, taking advantage of the administrative irregularities in the region, have illegally usurped state lands with peasants. Chief among them are Mahdī-qolī Khan, his nephew Colonel Ĵa'far-qolī Aqa, and their relatives and friends.

All of Karabagh was practically divided among the begs by Mahdī-qolī Khan and they, through his *tiyuls*, have become hereditary owners. Those begs whose lands are close to the khan's pay rent to him. After the khan fled to Persia [1822], the number of peasants increased and they usurped state lands, which belonged to the khan's family [Ĵavānšīr].

In 1826 and 1827 almost all of the Karabagh Muslim nobility betrayed His Imperial Majesty and placed themselves under the leadership of 'Abbās Mīrzā. After the war [Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828] all the traitors were forgiven and together with their khan, Mahdī-qolī, swore loyalty to Russia, and were permitted to return and to repossess the lands which they had held under the *tiyul* of the Kara-

<sup>1</sup> Captain Pruzhanovskii was part of the general staff of the Caucasian Administration.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, X (doc. 295), 289-290.

bagh khans. This generous act on the part of our government was so great, that a large number of the Christian peasants, who were always loyal to the Russian state, and who especially demonstrated their faithfulness in the years 1826 and 1827, ended as serfs of the traitors to Russia.

The begs returned from Persia to Karabagh and began to rule over their *tiyuls*. Many of these were false claims, for it was easy to forge the seal of the khan and *tiyul* documents written by Mīrzā Ĵamāl.<sup>1</sup>

Mīrzā Ĵamāl was the vizier of Mahdī-qolī Khan, who after the escape of the khan, served in the provincial court of Karabagh. He enjoyed the favor of General Ermolov, although he did not really serve him. In 1826 the begs gathered in his house to voice their betrayal of our Monarch.

After the return of the khan, Mīrzā Ĵamāl enjoyed his favor until Ĵamāl moved close to Ĵa'far-qolī Aqa. He was then removed as vizier and Mahdī-qolī Khan is now accusing him of abusing his authority and making a forged seal to stamp land grants.

In this case the khan is telling the truth, but Ĵamāl has succeeded in getting the grants of Ĵa'far-qolī Aqa registered by our administration in Karabagh, which has resulted in Ĵa'far's illegally taking large tracts of state domain, especially the land tract called Koiuk, in addition to his original land grants.

Some Karabagh lands are claimed by two parties, both of which have land grants, and thus numerous court cases are in progress, which end up benefiting one usurper or another by substantiating their claim to land gained illegally. Some of these cases are fabricated among neighbors just to get a certificate of ownership from the courts--the losing party then receives money or part of the product from the land, as gifts from the winner.

Finally, many of the Karabagh begs who have usurped lands, have no documents, even false ones. They have grabbed whatever they could and have become masters over it. Since there is no register of the lands belonging to the treasury, no one is aware of their action. In order to resolve this problem we need a large commission, to spend

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<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Ĵamāl Ĵavānšīr, the vizier of Karabagh, wrote a history of the region, see Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh*.

many years and conduct research and surveys to establish the validity of land ownership in Karabagh. Otherwise state lands and legal private ownership will continue to decrease.



**X**  
**(June 1845-October 1862)**

**389**  
***Count Perovskii to Prince Vorontsov***  
**(26 June 1845)<sup>1</sup>**

The Supreme Patriarch, Catholicos of All Armenians, Nersēs, informed me that on 12 June he shall depart Kishinev and travel to the Crimea via Odessa. From there he will go to [New]Nakhichevan via Taganrog'. After that he will go to Tiflis via Stavropol', arriving in Tiflis on 15 August. After checking the conditions of the Armenian Church and important business of the prelacy there he shall continue to Etchmiadzin, expecting to arrive there at the end of September.

**390**  
***Catholicos Nersēs to Prince Vorontsov***  
**(19 October 1845)<sup>2</sup>**

During my stay in Kishinev I learned that the Almighty God has granted my longtime wish and has directed the mind of His Imperial Majesty to choose you to pacify and build the lands of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, which have been in disarray for many years. This action is truly lucky for the Etchmiadzin Monastery as well.

Your Excellency, His Majesty has chosen a man who is brave in war against our enemies and whose ancestry entitles him to be called a prince. My heartfelt wish for your success is so sincere that I cannot pass the opportunity to assure you that I will always pray that His Majesty, for the benefit of the people who are loyal to your country, will retain you in this post for a long time.

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<sup>1</sup>AKAK, X (doc. 242), 240.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, (doc. 243), 240, written from New Nakhichevan.

## 391

*State Counselor Vronchenko to Prince Vorontsov*(28 February 1846)<sup>1</sup>

Since we plan to make changes in the system of trade in Transcaucasia, it is imperative that we have the data on the amount of manufactured goods that are imported there from Russia. The Armenians are the main buyers of manufactured goods produced by the inhabitants of Moscow and the factory owners of Vladimir, as well as those sold at the fairs of Nizhni-Novgorod.<sup>2</sup> I, therefore, charged Baron Meiendorf, of the Moscow Manufacturing Council, to determine the percentage of the annual export that is sent to Transcaucasia and the actual amount and value of the goods. This was to be accomplished by examining the registers of sales.

On the twenty-third of this month, Baron Meiendorf succeeded in compiling data from the members of the Russian Manufacturers and Merchants in Moscow. It indicates the main items and their value (in silver rubles) which were exported to Transcaucasia:

Cotton goods, 2,390,800 [rubles]; woolen goods, 1,310,800; items made from silk, 380,000; linen goods, 150,000; raw metal, 90,000; metallic goods, 399,000; porcelain and glazed pottery, 60,000; various other goods (including special Polish material and tea), 755,000. Altogether, 5,534,600 silver rubles.

In addition, Baron Meiendorf asked of the Council to supply him with information from the Moscow Treasury Chamber, specifically from the records of the Moscow broker, Laushkin, showing that in 1844 more than 3,600 items with Russian manufacturing labels were sent to Tiflis and other cities in Transcaucasia (not including [New] Nakhichevan, through which a large part of the Russian manufactured goods destined for Transcaucasia are routed).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> АКАК, X (doc. 184), 180.

<sup>2</sup> In a report to Chernyshev (dated 3-20 May 1845) Vorontsov states that most of the trade in the cities of Transcaucasia is conducted by Armenians, *ibid.*, (doc. 525), 569-570.

<sup>3</sup> On August 31, Vorontsov wrote to Count Chernyshev his reasons for changing the entire tariff structure of Transcaucasia and the Black Sea Coast. The extremely long and detailed document is a wealth of information for anyone seeking material on



## 392

*Baron Meiendorf to Prince Vorontsov*(29 May 1848)<sup>1</sup>

In your letter of May 3, Your Excellency informed me of the complaint of the Armenians regarding the opening of a Moscow trade depot in Tiflis. In all fairness I have to state the response of the founders of the depot regarding, what they consider, inaccurate claims [by the Armenians].

1) Despite the law, it is unacceptable to propose that Moscow merchants cannot enjoy the same rights that are given to European stores, as well as to the Armenians trading in Moscow.

2) As to the interests of the local Armenians versus the Moscow merchants: The latter group, demonstrating their goodwill, has already proposed various solutions. For example in June 1847, following Your Excellency's wish, Chetverikov' offered the Armenians a wholesale discount of 10 percent of the retail price.

3) As to financial losses of the Armenian merchants, it is obvious that they were exaggerated. It is difficult to understand how a store with annual sales of 400,000 silver rubles can cause such damage to merchants whose annual sale of Russian goods in Transcaucasia is at least 4,000,000 silver rubles more than the store's.

4) It is unfortunate that the two groups cannot come together for the benefit of the population of Transcaucasia. Mutual trust is mandatory in any commercial enterprise. However, the leadership of the first group [Armenians] is uncertain about the second, and finally,

5) I am convinced that if Your Excellency weighs the complaints of thirty Armenian trading houses on one hand and the benefit of the Trans-caucasian consumers on the other, Your Excellency will agree that the interests of the people come before the letter of the law.

Trading conditions in Transcaucasia prior to the opening of the Russian depot, clearly proves how the Armenian merchants viewed the overall trading interests of the country.

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the commerce of the region in the first half of the nineteenth century, *AKAK*, X (doc. 187), 180-187.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, X (doc. 201), 198-199. The letter was a response to complaints made to Bebutov by Armenian merchants of Tiflis regarding the opening of a Russian store, see *ibid.*, (doc. 200), 197-198.

## 393

*Count Chernyshev to Prince Vorontsov*(21 December 1848)<sup>1</sup>

His Imperial Majesty, taking note of the special petition of Catholicos Nersēs, has approved Your Excellency's proposal and the statues proposed by the Caucasian Committee, to exempt all buildings belonging to the religious hierarchy or to monasteries of the Armenian Church from billeting troops, from land taxes, and from various city obligations, even if they are rented, according to article 300, volume IX of the Holy Code of 1842. The following statement has to be added to article 455 in the same volume:

"Armenian churches and monasteries, and all other structures attached to them or belonging to the Armenian Church, even if they be rented and bring an income, as well as charitable institutions of the Armenian Church, even if they be rented and bring income, are exempt from billeting, land taxes, and all the various city obligations, except repair of bridges, street cleaning, and the maintenance of lanterns."

## 394

*Prince Vorontsov's Report to Tsar Nicholas*(29 September 1852)<sup>2</sup>

*Formation of the Erevan province (guberniia).* In my last report to Your Majesty I requested Your Majesty's approval of the organization of new provinces in Transcaucasia: Kutais, Shemakh, Derbent, as well as Erevan. The reason for the latter was that the former Armenian province having been reduced to the Erevan district (*uezd*) could not regain its financial loss and could not sustain the operation of the district. This significant part of ancient Armenia is rich in the best quality of wheat, cotton, and many other natural resources. We can expect much from its peaceful and industrious population. Their trade activi-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, X (doc. 244), 240.

<sup>2</sup> The lengthy report covering the years 1849-1851 is not a document but is reprinted in its entirety in AKAK, X, pp. 875-904. Sections (pp. 875-876, 880, 899) relating to the Armenians are translated here.

ties, such as those in the village of Akulis, in Ordubad, has brought capital not only to Transcaucasia but even to Russia. The creation of a new provincial administration, divided into four districts, which Your Highness decreed on 1 January 1850 will do much to increase trade and manufacturing in the Erevan province. The efforts of the military governor, Nazarov, are sure to enhance the productivity of this province....

....*On the Rights of the Armenian Meliks*: Your Majesty's order of 6 December 1846 required that the individual rights of the Muslim gentry and the Armenian meliks be examined and be at par with those of the Russian nobility....

The Caucasian Committee submitted its finding on 8 June 1851, and Your Majesty's approval was forwarded to them. Concerning the former Tatar lands in the outlying districts of Georgia, which have been claimed by the Armenian meliks: By the regulations of 8 June 1851, I have dealt with that in the same way that we dealt with the lands taken from the *aqalars*....

To bring this to fruition we faced a number of challenges, especially in the village of Big Shulaver in the district of Borchalu. We had to examine the situation carefully so that both the meliks and the inhabitants of this wealthy settlement would be content....

*The Armenian Church*: The Catholicos of All Armenians, Nersēs, continues to work zealously and tirelessly in his quest to organize the Armenian clergy and to establish seminaries for their education. Although all his efforts are concentrated on his Church, I can tell Your Majesty that the present leadership of the Armenian Church is in satisfactory condition and the catholicos's first wish is to prepare good assistants for himself and his successors....

## 395

*General Wrangel<sup>1</sup> to Prince Bebutov*(1 May 1854)<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the provincial secretary of the region of Nakhichevan, Ter-Grikurov, has, at his own expense, formed a unit of 125 Armenian militiamen to serve in the war against our enemy. I inspected the unit today and found it to have good horses and to be armed with Cossack lances....I request Your Excellency's permission to put Ter-Grikurov's unit in the Don group under the command of Colonel Khreshchatinskii....<sup>3</sup>

## 396

*Report of Prince Bebutov*(23 June 1854)<sup>4</sup>

The Shuragol militia unit, formed only on 1 June, has managed in just three weeks to demonstrate its bravery by thrice facing the enemy, on the seventh, fourteenth, and twentieth of June. It has inflicted casualties on the Turks and has forced them to retreat, leaving horses and weapons behind.

It is my pleasure to commend the head of the Alexandropol' *uezd*, Counselor Lanko; the commander of the Shuragol militia, Second Lieutenant Prince Tarkhanov; College Secretary Arutinov; Ensign Karagezov; and 14th rank [guidon bearer] Kaloev, as well as all the members of this unit....

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant General Wrangel was the commander of the Erevan Corps, which were stationed at the Turkish border.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 559/134, file 7, f. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Avetik Ter-Grikurov wrote a letter to the military governor of Erevan, Major General Kazarov, which stated his wish to form such a unit; see *ibid.*, f. 6. On 14 May, General Read wrote to Bebutov and informed him that the Armenian volunteers had joined the 23rd Don Cavalry Group and that he had ordered that Ter-Grikurov's efforts be published in the newspaper *Kavkaz*, *ibid.*, f. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 559, file 5, f. 19, written at the camp by Kizil Chakhchakh. On 12 August, Major General Neverovskii wrote to the head of Alexandropol' that since the Turks had been defeated in the border regions, Bebutov had ordered that the Shuragol militia assist in harvesting grain in the *uezd*, *ibid.*, f. 37.

## 397

*Report to Prince Bebutov*<sup>1</sup>  
(29 December 1854)<sup>2</sup>

The Etchmiadzin Brotherhood, having special feelings toward the Russian soldier and out of devotion to the Orthodox Church, donated the following items on the 25th of December,<sup>3</sup> the day of the Birth of Christ:

50 bottles of vodka, 150 bottles of wine, 15 *pud* of fine wheat, 150 *pud* of flour, 10 pigs, and 3 bulls.

## 398

*Report of the Commission of State-Owned Property in Transcaucasia for the Year 1854*<sup>4</sup>

The government is estimated to have 6,374,000 *desiatins* in Transcaucasia. The number is based on the two previous estimates by the state chambers of the region. They guessed that there were some 500,000 in the Tiflis province, 3,150,000 in Shemakha province, 2,000,000 in Erevan province; 74,000 in Kutais province; 140,000 in Derbent province; and 510,000 in the Jaro-Belakan district. It has to be noted that there was no land survey of Transcaucasia prior to 1850, when this committee was established. Upon taking office only 297,520 *desiatins* and 183 *sazhen* were reported [by the inhabitants] to have been state-owned. Since then the commission has declared the following measures of land as state properties:

1850: 52,753 *desiatins* (9,981 in Tiflis, 26,184 in Shemakha, none in Kutais, 16,588 in Erevan, none in Derbent or Jaro-Belakan).

1851: 298,912 *d.* (205,950 Tiflis, 52,298 Shemakha, 25,550 Kutais, 11,114 Erevan, 4000 Derbent).

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<sup>1</sup> The report was submitted by the chief of supplies for the infantry.

<sup>2</sup> TSGIA-Arm, record group 57, file 157, f. 71.

<sup>3</sup> January 6 (new style), which is Armenian Christmas.

<sup>4</sup> AKAK, X (doc. 82), 105-106 The complete document is in a table format (pp. 105-111). It contains detailed statistics on taxes, occupations, way of life (peasant, artisan, or nomad), production of foodstuff, and other data compiled in the year 1854.

1852: 215,561 *d.* (165,021 Tiflis, 30,399 Shemakha, 6,258 Kutais, 13,002 Erevan, 791 Jaro-Belakan).

1853: 131,576 *d.* (13,767 Tiflis, 62,167 Shemakha, 31,217 Kutais, 16,000 Erevan, 8,425 Derbent).

1854: 106,070 *d.* (1,721 Tiflis, 98,995 Shemakha, 857 Kutais, 4,497 Derbent and none in Erevan or Jaro-Belakan).

We have yet to designate 5,569,128 *desiatin* of the estimate.

The number of households on state-owned lands in Transcaucasia prior to 1 January 1854, was, according to religious affiliation: Orthodox: 19,318 (14,213 Tiflis, 138 Erevan, 4,976 Kutais); Armenian-Gregorian: 43,504 (4,914 Tiflis, 18,558 Shemakha, 16,852 Erevan, 3,180 Kutais);<sup>1</sup> Armenian Catholic 597 (1 in Tiflis and 596 in Erevan); Muslims 125,612 (12,180 in Tiflis, 63,280 in Shemakha, 20,002 in Erevan, 2,435 in Kutais, 17,228 in Derbent, 10,487 in Jaro-Belakan); Russian immigrants (*Roskolniks*): 3,524 (691 in Tiflis, 1,956 in Shemakha, 449 in Erevan, 428 in Kutais); recent Russian immigrants (Orthodox): 149 (60 in Tiflis, 89 in Shemakha); German colonists: 538 (all in Tiflis); Jews: 1,369 (75 in Tiflis, 1,188 in Erevan, 106 in Kutais).

### 399

#### *Prince Voronstov to Catholicos Nersēs*

(17 May 1855)<sup>2</sup>

The minister of war reported on 12 March (report no. 2846) that the Armenian Consistory in Erevan had donated 679 rubles and 14 kopeks, which it had collected to aid our troops at Sevastopol'. His Majesty, the Emperor, expresses his appreciation of the efforts of the Armenian clergy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statistics indicate that each household contained between five and six people, hence the number of the Armenians living on state-owned lands can be estimated at around 250,000.

<sup>2</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 183, doc. 4601.

<sup>3</sup> Vorontsov left Transcaucasia in March 1855 but continued to serve the tsar until the summer of that year.

## 400

*Counselor Danskii to General Murav'ev*<sup>1</sup>(9 February 1856)<sup>2</sup>

In July of 1855 the procurator of the Armenian Synod at Etchmiadzin, Vassakov,<sup>3</sup> wrote the following report to the minister of the interior:

Although Article 33 of the Imperial *polozhenie* states that the Etchmiadzin Synod should be composed of four archbishops or bishops and four vardapets, the Synod, since 1853, has had only two members.

Article 34 states that when an opening occurs in the Synod, the catholicos will find a replacement and will inform the viceroy of the Caucasus.

The procurator has written to ask Catholicos Nersēs to appoint new members to the Synod more swiftly, since the decision of two members, instead of eight, cannot be legal. He has received no response.

Finally, although since 1844 the previous head of the Georgian diocese, Archbishop Karapet, has been considered a member of the Synod, he has not been present, and neither the Synod nor the procurator know why.

In August of that year I myself asked Catholicos Nersēs to speed up naming candidates for the Etchmiadzin Synod to the viceroy of the Caucasus.

Having received no answer I am once again writing to the catholicos regarding this matter.

Since 1846, when I joined the ministry, I have observed and heard that the Armenian Church is still governed the way it was at the start of 1836, when the *polozhenie* was introduced. The current catholicos has not fulfilled our expectations of his election in 1842.

In his letters to Field Marshall Prince of Warsaw [Paskevich] and other administrators in chief of the Caucasus who followed, Catholi-

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<sup>1</sup> General N. N. Murav'ev was administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1854 to 1856.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, XI, (doc. 17), 21.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible, judging by his name, that the procurator was a Russianized Armenian. Ironically Vasak was the name of the Armenian who, according to ancient Armenian historians, betrayed Vardan Mamikonean to the Zoroastrian Persian invaders in 451.

cos Nersēs has, since 1827, indicated his wish to sit on the throne of the Catholicos of All Armenians. Letters in the Ministry of the Interior also indicate that our government resisted the idea for a long time because local officials, while praising his intelligence and character, noted his great tendency for independent action.

The ministry has also received complaints from the archbishop of Georgia-Imeret'i, Karapet, and the archbishop of Bessarabia-[New] Nakhichevan, Matt'ēos, regarding the interference of Nersēs in the affairs of their dioceses and in diverting the funds of these dioceses to Etchmiadzin through his trusted and appointed religious hierarchy.

In order for our Eastern policy to work effectively, we need the cooperation of the supreme religious hierarchy at Etchmiadzin. The influence of the Holy See spreads not only all over Russia, but to Turkey, Persia, and India. Any shortcoming will weaken both the See and our policy. It is my duty, therefore, to ask Your Excellency to pay special attention to the actions of Catholicos Nersēs and to the current condition of the Etchmiadzin Synod. Keep me and the ministry informed and tell us how can we aid you in this endeavor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Murav'ev asked Prince Bebutov, an Armenian, to discuss the situation with Nersēs. On 11 February, Nersēs wrote to Murav'ev explaining that after the death of Catholicos Ghukas of Garni, there were major problems in Etchmiadzin that resulted in the absence of a catholicos until 1807. Catholicos Daniēl died soon after and the chaotic conditions, as well as the wars with Persia, left the See in shambles and with few senior clerics. He added that there were only seven bishops in Etchmiadzin, two of whom were members of the Synod. Archbishop Karapet was in Akhaltsikhe on a sick leave. The fourth had other important duties, while the fifth and sixth were dispatched to various dioceses on numerous missions. The seventh, Sargis Jalaleants', had been sent to Karabagh. There were twelve vardapets: two were engaged in the administration of the Holy See, the third was in charge of the Etchmiadzin bazaar, the fourth served in the Erevan diocese, and the rest had other functions. There were also nine deacons in the seminary. Such a small number had to supervise the six Armenian dioceses in Russia, hence the shortage of members in the Synod. *ibid.*, (doc. 18), 22-23.



## 401

*Counselor Danskii to General Murav'ev*(4 July 1856)<sup>1</sup>

I have received secret and confidential correspondence which indicates that Catholicos Nersēs is preparing to travel to Moscow to participate in the coronation<sup>2</sup> of His Imperial Majesty.

It is my duty to request that you prevent the catholicos from traveling to Moscow. He is too old, and as far as the government is concerned his presence is superfluous.

I am also sending you other material we have received in the ministry regarding Nersēs. Please keep us informed of the actions of Bishop Sargis Jalaleants', who is loved by Nersēs', even though he is a man of other bad qualities.

## 402

*General Murav'ev to Counselor Danskii*(6 August 1856)<sup>3</sup>

In response to your letter of 4 July I have to inform you that the news of Catholicos Nersēs' trip to Moscow to attend His Majesty's coronation was spread all over Tiflis as well. It had no basis in reality. In fact, upon his arrival here [Tiflis] the catholicos made it known that he is sending Bishop Sargis Jalaleants' (Jalalov) to Moscow to represent Etchmiadzin.

In answer to your second question, I can confirm that Jalaleants' is indeed a favorite of Nersēs, for of all the Armenian clerics in Russia, he alone was elevated to the rank of bishop. I have no knowledge of his other qualities, but I cannot fault him for being loyal to his chief. Having recently met Sargis, I found him a man of intelligence and talent and I recommend that you keep him in mind for the future.

As to the other items that concern the catholicos:

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, XI (doc. 19), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas I died on 18 February 1855. The coronation of Alexander II took place in September 1856.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, XI (doc. 22), 29-30.

1) There is evidence in my chancery of disagreements between him and the late Archbishop Karapet. I have passed that information on to the Caucasian Committee. With the death of Karapet, however, we can consider the matter closed. I also did not have the opportunity to examine that material carefully.

2) As to whether Sargis Jalaleants' would be a loyal catholicos to our government--I am gathering material to answer that question.

3) I am also trying to find the loyalty oath taken by vardapets who were subjects of Turkey prior to their being installed as bishops by Nersēs.

4) I have given my answers (dated 16 July) to the Caucasian Committee to the charge that Nersēs has not carried out the *polozhenie* of 1836 regarding the governing of the Armenian Church in Russia.

5) There is only one political newspaper published in Constantinople which is translated into Armenian and that is *Journal de Constantinople*. Catholicos Nersēs receives it through Erzerum. Although there are often articles against our government in that paper, I do not think we should forbid his receiving it. Otherwise he would get it secretly through other channels. I suggest, however, that he be told not to spread the information in that paper among the clergy and workers at the Holy See, even though it may be difficult for an old man to guard against the curiosity of his subordinates. I have detailed all of this in my report to the Caucasian Committee and await their official response. I shall, therefore, limit such reminders in my conversations with him.

6) As to the charge that Nersēs is carrying on secret correspondence with individuals residing abroad, I need some concrete evidence to bring such accusation to light. One has to note that his duties consist of corresponding with the Armenians all over, including India.

7) There is no doubt that Nersēs does not like the *polozhenie* of 1836 and tries to avoid its articles. His dislike occasionally finds its way into his speeches.

In my presence, however, he has been always restrained and complained only about those whom he found not to agree with his actions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For Murav'ev's detailed report, see *ibid.*, (docs. 20-21), 23-29. He reminded the Caucasian Committee that Nersēs' age was the main reason for the irregularities. He

## 403

*Secretary Kruzenshtern<sup>1</sup> to Baron Nikolai<sup>2</sup>*  
(14 September 1856)<sup>3</sup>

Professor Nazareants', from the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, has requested that he be permitted to publish a periodical in Armenian in Moscow under the title of *Aurora Borealis*.<sup>4</sup> The head of the Lazarev Institute, General Adjutant Count Orlov,<sup>5</sup> has no objections to this.

It is the opinion of the minister of education that the periodical will be read by most of the Armenian population in the Caucasus and Trans-caucasia. He has thus sent the proposed project to the viceroy to ascertain if there are any objections or obstacles to the publication of such a periodical. Please let me know your opinion regarding this project.

## 404

*Caucasian Committee on Censorship to Baron Nikolai*  
(3 December 1856)<sup>6</sup>

Per your request of 26 November (no. 3301), we have examined the proposed periodical in the languages of the Haik, which Professor Nazareants' wishes to produce. We have the following observations:

1) Since most of the Armenian literary and educational material brought to Tiflis is written in a style which can only be read by the educated, it demonstrates that curiosity and the gaining of knowledge has greatly spread among the Armenians. The publication of yet an-

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also added that, although the tsar had the power to remove the catholicos on their recommendation, they should remember the many services Nersēs had performed for Russia in the past.

<sup>1</sup> Kruzenshtern was senior state secretary to the viceroy of the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> Baron A. P. Nikolai was the chief of the education committee for the Caucasus.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, XI (doc. 797), 765.

<sup>4</sup> Step'anos Nazareants' and Mikayēl Nalbandean published the famous Armenian periodical *Hiusisapayl* (Northern Light) in Moscow from 1858 to 1864.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Count A. F. Orlov, member of the State Council and chief of the Third department from 1844 to 1856.

<sup>6</sup> AKAK, XI (doc. 798), 765.

other journal which could be understood by most, will without doubt increase their inquisitiveness and desire to study.

2) Nazareants' plan to include four main subjects--i.e. geography, general history, natural science, and literature and aesthetics--demonstrates that he is concerned about educating his people.

3) The committee is aware that the Armenian paper that was published in Tiflis until 1851 by the priest Patkanov [Patkanean],<sup>1</sup> despite all its shortcomings in literary and educational subjects, had a large list of subscribers and was halted only due to the departure of the editor from Tiflis.

4) Prior to the start of the last war [Crimean War], Transcaucasia received six different Armenian newspapers [from outside]: *Masis*<sup>2</sup> and *New Dove*,<sup>3</sup> published in Constantinople; *Araratian Dawn*, published in Smyrna;<sup>4</sup> *Inquirer* and *Patriot*, published in East India;<sup>5</sup> and *Europe*, published in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> There were also three journals: *Herald*,<sup>7</sup> *Metropolis*,<sup>8</sup> and *Literator*, all published in Constantinople. These publications had a large audience, which demonstrates that the Armenians are curious about events in Asia and Europe. It is unfortunate that the political articles in these publications did not always favor our government. If Professor Nazareants' adds a fifth topic, a political one, and if he takes the position of our government then, in the

<sup>1</sup> Refers to Gabriël Patkanean (1802-1889), the father of Rafayël Patkanean (Gamar-Kat'ipa, 1820-1892), and teacher of the Armenian political activist Mikayël Nalbandean (1829-1866). The newspaper in question, *Ararat* (1849-1851), was published in Tiflis and was the first newspaper in the Russian Empire printed in vernacular Armenian (*ashkharabar*).

<sup>2</sup> Published by Karapet Ut'uchyan from 1852 to 1908.

<sup>3</sup> Text unclear; although unlikely, it could refer to *Masyats' Aghavni*, which was printed in Paris (1855-1858) after the start of the Crimean War and may have reached Transcaucasia via Constantinople.

<sup>4</sup> Refers to *Arshaluys Araratyan* (1841-1887).

<sup>5</sup> Refers to *Usumnaser* (1849-1853), published in Singapore by G. D. Galstanyan, and *Azgaser* (1845-1848) and *Azgaser Araratyan* (1848-1852) published in India by Mesrop T'aghiadyan (1803-1858).

<sup>6</sup> Refers to *Evropa* (1847-1863) published by the Viennese branch of the Mekhitarists.

<sup>7</sup> May refer to *Azdarar Byuzandyan*, published from 1840-1841 by Khach'atur Voskanyan.

<sup>8</sup> May refer to *Vostan*, but more probably is the *Journal de Constantinople*.

opinion of the censorship committee, *Aurora Borealis* will be of greater benefit to the Armenians of Russia. In any case, the committee has no objection to the publication of the periodical, even in its present four-subject format....<sup>1</sup>

## 405

*Report of the Caucasian Censorship Committee for the Year 1856*<sup>2</sup>

Publications in the Armenian language:

Manuscripts from 1856 not examined--two; during the year four were submitted for approval.

Periodicals: 45 issues--35 approved without change, 10 with changes.

Books from 1856 not examined--14; during the year 228 works in 258 volumes were published in 2,300 copies. Among them:

Religious subjects                      76 works in 81 volumes (1,368 copies)

Political subjects                      36 works in 46 volumes (225 copies)

Belle Lettres and Philology      82 works in 94 volumes (348 copies)

Textbooks:                      34 works in 37 volumes (359 copies)

(184 of the above were already submitted to the committee prior to 1856)

Of the remaining, forty-two were published without any changes, two were censored or forbidden, and four will be examined in 1857....<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The official permission for the publication was granted soon after, in 1857.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, XI (doc. 799), 765-766. The section concerning Armenians is translated here.

<sup>3</sup> During the same year there were 7 manuscripts and 101 periodicals in Russian; 26 works in European languages were permitted to be imported into the Caucasus; a total of 31 books, manuscripts, and periodicals in Georgian. Works in Arabic script: 13 works in Arabic (88 copies), 24 in Persian (64 copies). Six in Turkish (21 copies), and four in Tatar (292 copies); from these 18 were religious (Islamic) publications (110 copies), four political (eight copies), and the rest philological (48 copies). One manuscript in Tatar and one book in Persian remained to be examined.

## 406

*Tsar Alexander II to Prince Bariatsinskii*<sup>1</sup>(2 January 1857)<sup>2</sup>

I completely agree with your opinion on the importance of the Caspian Sea as a base for supplies and even a base for war in case of renewed operations in Transcaucasia. I hope that Admiral Vasil'ev<sup>3</sup> will realize your plans for the ports of Petrovsk and Baku in a practical and satisfactory manner.

I confirm entirely all of your plans for military operations for this winter and for the next summer. God grant that your forecasts on the subject of Chechnia are realized....

I hope that Filipson<sup>4</sup> will be able to put things back to order. I am very happy that you have found Bebutov's measures regarding provisions beyond reproach. But this must not stop you from knowing, deep down, his bad as well as his good qualities and keeping an eye on him and all of his Armenian protégés.

Your dealings with Nersēs give me hope that you will manage to come to terms with him and to redress all the irregularities that, thanks to him, are creeping through his vast administration. It is absolutely necessary to bring his attention to the education of the Armenian clergy in order that we shall have a supply of them in the future, and to resolving the difficulties we are facing finding capable men....

## 407

*Decree of Tsar Alexander*(16 January 1857)<sup>5</sup>

To the inhabitants of Erevan province, Our subjects. The oppressive conditions that your land endured under the rule of the Muslims, and which were relieved by the generous arm of Our Beloved Father, Em-

<sup>1</sup> Prince A. I. Bariatsinskii, viceroy of the Caucasus from 1856 to 1862.

<sup>2</sup> Excerpts from a letter written from St. Petersburg in French, see A. J. Rieber, *The Politics of Autocracy: Letters of Alexander II to Prince A. I. Bariatsinskii, 1857-1864* (Paris, 1966), pp. 101-103.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Vasil'ev was appointed governor-general of Astrakhan in 1856.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory Filipson served in the Caucasus prior to becoming a senator in 1861.

<sup>5</sup> TSGIA-Arm, record group 57, file 157, f. 78.

peror Nicholas Pavlovich, when you were placed under His protection, is fresh in Our memory. The fortitude expressed during the past conflict by these inhabitants in volunteering to defend their birthplace and in joining the militia, demonstrates bravery, and the Russian government greatly values this service, which firmly guarded our Asiatic frontier in the last war. Despite the fact that many fields were left fallow during the conflict, the inhabitants of Erevan province continued to pay the taxes needed to sustain their communities. In addition, they took care of the troops who were billeted there or who passed through there. For all the above, We acknowledge the Erevan province with Our recognition and Our goodwill.

## 408

*Prince Bariatinskii to Tsar Alexander*

(16 February 1857)<sup>1</sup>

Your Imperial Majesty, the Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos of all Armenians, Nersēs, died in Tiflis on thirteenth of this month.<sup>2</sup>

## 409

*Tsar Alexander to Prince Bariatinskii*

(2 March 1857)<sup>3</sup>

I sincerely regret [the passing of] old Nersēs, but perhaps his death will give us more ease in the regulation of the affairs of the Armenian clergy. The choice of his replacement must be made with great circumspection and I count on you for the presentation of candidates, which the [Etchmiadzin] Synod must then present to me....

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, XII (doc. 461), 539.

<sup>2</sup> Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos is in lower-case in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Excerpt from a letter written from St. Petersburg in French, Rieber, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

## 410

*Prince Bariatinskii to the Etchmiadzin Synod*(3 June 1857)<sup>1</sup>

The minister of the interior has forwarded me a copy of a report (24 February to 8 March of this year) sent by the chief of our mission in Tehran to the minister of foreign affairs. It details the efforts of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries among the followers of the Armenian Gregorian Church in Persia. Their propaganda has found some success, primarily due to the poor state of the Armenian Gregorian church in Persia, which lacks priests and funds.

In apprising the Etchmiadzin Synod of the problem, I suggest that you take measures to improve the conditions of the Armenian Gregorian Church in Persia and to keep me informed of the progress.

## 411

*From the Journal of the Caucasian Trade Commission*(5 June 1857)<sup>2</sup>

The Asiatic department, in 1838, suggested that Russia establish a trade center in Astarābād (Gorgān). In 1845 a company was established there to conduct trade with Persia and Central Asia....<sup>3</sup>

## 412

*Prince Bariatinskii to Prince Orlov*<sup>4</sup>(14 June 1857)<sup>5</sup>

Following the death of the Patriarch-Catholicos of All Armenians, Nersēs, I immediately wrote to the Etchmiadzin Synod reminding them of article 12 of the Imperial *polozhenie* of 11 March 1836, regarding the Armenian Gregorian Church in Russia, which states that

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 462), 530.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (doc. 518), 588.

<sup>3</sup> Armenians of Moscow invested in this company. By 1855 the company was active in Trans-Caspian trade and had one million silver rubles worth of credit.

<sup>4</sup> Prince N. A. Orlov was a companion of Tsar Alexander II and served as a Russian envoy to Europe.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 463), 530-531.



they have to send notices to all the Armenian dioceses of the death of the catholicos and that they have one year to elect a new patriarch.

The Etchmiadzin Synod on 3 April sent me a copy of their notice to the patriarch of Constantinople, Hakobos;<sup>1</sup> patriarch of Jerusalem, Hovhannēs;<sup>2</sup> and the head of the diocese of [Persia] Isfahan, Thaddeus, and Tabriz, Sahak; to the Armenian National Assembly in Constantinople, and to the respected merchants and clergy of Armenians in India.

The formal notices follow previous wordings of such statements and set 18 May 1858, as the final date for the election of a new catholicos. Those addressed to Persia and India were forwarded by me to our mission to the court in Tehran. I ask that the others be forwarded by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Constantinople.

I feel it is my duty to inform His Imperial Majesty of my thoughts on who should be the new catholicos.

The death of Catholicos Nersēs has made it imperative that we select a person who is worthy of the high position, is devoted to the interests of Russia, is acceptable to the wishes of the Armenian nation, and has influence over all Armenians, especially those in Turkey.

Concern for the Armenians of Turkey started even prior to the election of Nersēs as catholicos. Catholic and Protestant missionaries, who are against our belief and our interests, had swiftly made conversions among the Armenians in Turkey. In order to stop foreign agents from curtailing our influence in the East, we need the help of the Armenian Church and that of the patriarch-catholicos of the entire nation of Haik.

The situation thus warrants that the new catholicos be from among the religious hierarchy of Turkey, someone who through his influence would divert the Turkish Armenians toward Etchmiadzin....

In 1843 during the election of a new catholicos following the death of Hovhannēs, when there was an opportunity to select a candidate who was not a Russian subject, the astute opinion of General Adjutant Count Perovskii--communicated to His Imperial Highness on 9 February 1843---was not followed. He advised that the candidate must have

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<sup>1</sup> Hakobos Serobean (1848-1856, second time).

<sup>2</sup> Hovhannēs of Smyrna (1850-1860).

the respect of both Russian Armenians and those living outside Russia.

I also suggest that we permit full freedom to the Synod in this election. Otherwise it will open the door to intrigues and may result in the election of someone who is not capable or loyal. It will also turn our Armenian subjects against us. The majority of the electors in Etchmiadzin are on our side and our wish will prevail. Even if the election goes against us and a person who is not loyal to us is elected, we can always cite article 18 of the Imperial *polozhenie* of 1836, which states that two candidates will be presented to His Majesty, who will then select one as the Catholicos of All Armenians.

The only other problem is article 19 of the *polozhenie*, which states that the catholicos-elect must swear his allegiance to His Imperial Majesty. A non-Russian Armenian catholicos-elect may refuse to take the oath and stir the Church in a different direction.

I have, however, not many concerns about the above problems since the Armenian people have always been pro-Russian and have found tolerance under our rule. Their language, religion, and nationality (*narodnost'*) has not been changed and they are treated the same as all other Russian subjects. It is also in the character of the Armenians to resent outside interference in the affairs of Etchmiadzin....

I still do not know the feelings of the Armenians outside Russia about the upcoming elections. In 1843 a large number of the non-Russian delegates did not physically participate in the election but submitted their choice in writing. They were later displeased with the election. If we find out that the same situation may be repeated and Turkish Armenian bishops have to submit their choice in writing, we should ask that they submit the name of one of their own, as one of the two choices to be presented to His Majesty....

The above attests to the fact that we have to be fully prepared for the upcoming election by communicating with the Turkish Armenians, especially those in Constantinople, to keep foreign agents of the Western powers out of the process. Our embassy in Constantinople should be involved and I therefore suggest that the minister of foreign affairs inform the diplomat Butenev, with whom I have already established contact....

Please keep me informed of His Majesty's wishes regarding the above.

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*Major General Minkvits<sup>1</sup> to Prince Bariatinskii*  
(23 August 1857)<sup>2</sup>

Enclosed is a copy of Lt. Col. Runich's<sup>3</sup> report of August 10 on the activities of the commission for the drawing of the Russo-Turkish border in Asia.

*Report*

The commission for the establishment of the Russo-Turkish border in Asia consisted of: Major General Chirikov (Russia), Mr. Pelisé (France), Colonel Simmons (England), and Huseyn Pasha (Turkey). During their stay they not only performed the duties assigned to them by their countries, but met with the local people and officials to make the delineation in a true spirit of fairness to the population.<sup>4</sup>

In their meeting in Sardārābād last June they met with a large number of petitioners, most of whom were the people living in the region. Their final report was, of course, not very complimentary to Russia. Mr. Pelisé, who is an intelligent man, was especially displeased with the behavior of the Russian commander of Erevan, Lt. Col. Romanov, calling it barbarous....

This will be an embarrassment for us in Europe. It seems that the report of the commissioners will appear in the English periodic press and will be generally critical of Russia, painting it in the most unfavorable way....

Although it is painful for my soul, in the fair performance of my duty, I have to report to Your Excellency that the observations of the commission are justified. For, probably, nowhere has the Asiatic system of *peshkesh* (bribes) spread its evil as in Erevan province. The city and village police are especially guilty, and the administration, which is well aware of the problem, not only does not stop it, but by its own actions encourages it. The inhabitants, having no one to save them

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<sup>1</sup> Minkvits was the chief of the gendarmes of the VI military district stationed in Piatigorsk.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, XII (docs. 346-347), 403-404.

<sup>3</sup> Runich was the staff officer of the gendarmes of Erevan province.

<sup>4</sup> For the detailed reports and notes of the British and French representatives of the boundary commission; see A. Burdett, ed., *Caucasian Boundaries: Documents and Maps* (London, 1996), pp. 87-251.

from oppression, are not happy with the Russian administration, which is still new to them. This may have unpleasant consequences in the future.

One cannot remain silent and not agree with the fact that an oppressive system exists in the district of Erevan. The city police there are especially corrupt. The other districts of the province have better order. Among the district chiefs, State Assessor Von Voiutskii of Alexandropol<sup>1</sup>, is first among those who performs his duty without seeking any profit.

## 414

*Synod of Etchmiadzin to Prince Bariatinskii*  
(22 February 1858)<sup>1</sup>

The head of the Isfahan and Indian dioceses, as well as the head of the Azerbaijan<sup>2</sup> diocese, have written the following response to the letter from the Synod regarding the activities of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries: First, Bishop Tat'ewos of Isfahan wrote on 12 October of last year stating that since his appointment as head of the diocese, some fifteen Armenian families have converted to Catholicism in New Julfa. He adds that, despite renewed activities on the part of Protestant propagandists, only five Armenian youth have converted in Tehran. Although he has taken the necessary measures to combat their influence and to keep the Armenians faithful to their belief, the missionaries continue their solicitation. The solution to all this is to combat the poverty of the Armenian Church [in Persia] and, most importantly, to train educated priests. Although, at present there are three qualified priests in New Julfa, despite all efforts on the part of the diocese, they cannot attract intelligent candidates from among the youth who have been truly educated in the Armenian spirit.

Vardapet Hakob [of Azerbaijan] wrote on 4 November of last year that two Catholic missionaries arrived from Tehran and went to the towns of Salmās, Kōi, Urmiye, and Suluz, and to the village of Chara. The vardapet obtained *farmans* from Prince Ardamer in Tabriz to curtail their activities. He added that he is now trying to bring those Ar-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, XII (doc. 464), 532-533.

<sup>2</sup> Divided between Tabriz and St. Thaddeus monastery.

menians who converted to Protestantism in 1855, back to the religion of their forefathers. He added that although at present there is only one Armenian school in Tabriz, he is trying to prepare educated candidates for priests. If more schools were opened in the other towns under his jurisdiction, conditions would improve greatly....

Our last request is that Your Excellency not rely solely on the reports of the diocesan leaders in Isfahan or Azerbaijan regarding the evil activities of the missionaries in Persia. The Synod has also taken action for the establishment of new schools and the preparation of qualified clergy and has informed the diocesan leaders, Tat'ewos and Hakob.

## 415

*Tsar Alexander to Prince Bariatinskii*(7 July 1858)<sup>1</sup>

I am greatly at ease that the election at Etchmiadzin has fallen to the candidates that you approve and I await only your official presentation to confirm him....<sup>2</sup>

## 416

*Prince Orlov to Prince Bariatinskii*(15 July 1858)<sup>3</sup>

His Imperial Majesty has been informed that in May of this year the former patriarch of Constantinople, Matt'ēos,<sup>4</sup> was unanimously named as the Supreme Catholicos of All Armenians. Prior to confirming him in that position His Majesty has ordered the Foreign Ministry to inform the Turkish government, via our mission in Constantinople, of the election of their subject....Once we receive approval from the Porte and they release him from being their subject--for, as the Catholicos of the Armenian Gregorian Church, he has to swear his loyalty to

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from a letter written from Peterhof in French, Rieber, *op. cit.* p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> The above implies Bariatinskii's recommendation as to which of the two candidates Alexander would choose.

<sup>3</sup> AKAK, XII (doc. 465), 533.

<sup>4</sup> Catholicos, Matt'ēos of Constantinople (1858-1865).

His Majesty--he has to proceed immediately to Etchmiadzin, via Tiflis, to be consecrated in the rite of the Armenian Church. Since he shall need funds for his transportation, our mission in Constantinople should be instructed to make all the necessary funds available.

## 417

*Prince Orlov to Minister Panin*<sup>1</sup>(7 June 1859)<sup>2</sup>

By the Imperial decree of 9 June 1849 regarding the Erevan province, the district of Erevan was divided into four sectors: Sardarābād, Surmalu, Zangi-basar, and Sharur.

His Imperial Majesty has affirmed the petition of the viceroy of the Caucasus, which was based on the report from the Caucasian Commission:

1) The district of Erevan will be divided into two districts, Erevan and Etchmiadzin. The first will encompass Zangi-basar and Sharur, and the second, Sardarabad and Surmalu.

2) Each of the above districts shall have a district chief, two assistants, one secretary, one assistant secretary, and an interpreter. One shall be of high rank, two of middle rank, and three of lower rank. They shall carry out the duties and receive the pension specified in the Imperial decree of 9 June 1849. The heads of the districts shall each receive 150 silver rubles a year. Their rest of their administration will receive 480 silver rubles....<sup>3</sup>

## 418

*Catholicos-Elect Matt'ēos*<sup>4</sup> *to Prince Bariatinskii*(28 June 1859)<sup>5</sup>

Following God's Will and the pleasure of the August Emperor of All Russias, I have been elevated to the throne of the Supreme Patriarch of

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<sup>1</sup> V. N. Panin was minister of justice.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 349), 405. On 27 April Orlov submitted a similar report to Bariatinskii, *ibid.* (doc. 348), 404-405.

<sup>3</sup> The document has a number of repetitive items at the end.

<sup>4</sup> Catholicos of Etchmiadzin from 1858 to 1865.

<sup>5</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 466), 533-534.

the Armenian people. The closer I examine the benevolent conditions of the Russian Armenians, the more I realize the disastrous conditions of the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, to which I was an eyewitness for many years.

I take the liberty to ask Your Excellency to submit my petition to His Imperial Majesty to protect my people in Anatolia, who are suffering under the oppression of Kurds, Turks, and other people there. The Armenians of that region find themselves in the most beggarly conditions and, in the absence of Russian consuls, they have to seek the protection of foreign agents and convert to other Christian sects so that their consuls will guard them. This situation will not only hurt the Armenian Church in the long run, but shall affect your influence in the East. It has to be noted that there [in Turkey] are also a small group of Armenians who are Russian subjects and who engage in trade or are laborers.

One of the most effective solutions to this problem would be the establishment by His Majesty's government of Russian consulates in various cities of Turkey, and especially in Mush, Van, Diarbekir, Baghdad, Iznik, Smyrna, and Bursa. If not consulates, then at least agencies, so that merchants who are Russian subjects can seek their protection. These representatives should be secretly instructed to divert the local Armenians from the French and English consuls, who through their religious affiliations are harming Russian interests....

419

*The Russian Consul of Trebizond to the Director of the  
Asian Department*<sup>1</sup>  
(1859)<sup>2</sup>

I must inform you that Catholic and Protestant propaganda finds more converts each year among the Christian population in Turkey and its dominions in Asia. From the time that English consulates were opened in Samsun, Diarbekir, and Kayseri (now closed), the Protestants have firmly established themselves in Anatolia. In Amasya, Marsovan, To-

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<sup>1</sup> Letter was mailed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg and recorded as no. 570.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, XII (doc. 467), 534-536.

kat, Kharput, Kayseri, and other towns they have opened Bible schools and teach foreign languages. The English consuls serve as the official protectors of the missionaries, especially after 12 August, when a Protestant delegation arrived from the Foreign Office in London, led by Lord Radcliff, to discuss with the Porte the oppression of the Protestants in certain provinces of Asiatic Turkey. The now former ambassador of Great Britain, who was present, stated that although the Porte had been carrying out its declaration made in the 1856 decree,<sup>1</sup> which guarantees religion freedom, it is too weak to control the provinces. Hence the complaints by Protestants regarding oppression, barbarism, intolerance, and superstition by the local officials. To complain against the Porte when religious freedom has been established is pointless, he added.

Thus the requests of the missionaries, with the help of the British government, received positive response from the Turks and relief for their followers from oppression, which falls on the Christians in Turkey. Everyone knows the irregularity of taxes in Turkey, yet the missionaries have recently succeeded in setting a fixed tax of 28 *piasters* from each of their followers. Funds from the Bible Society pay the taxes for those who cannot afford them. The missionaries also serve as attorneys for their followers in court cases. The Turkish officials, not wishing to confront the British, do not judge the Protestants fairly. In many parts of Anatolia, American missionaries distribute free medicine and financial assistance to the sick. In Trebizond there are fifteen families, some seventy-five souls, who previously belonged to the Armenian Gregorian Church. Some of them turned Protestant out of poverty and in the hope of receiving financial aid; others, who had immovable property, sought protection against their Muslim neighbors and Turkish rule in general. There was an American preacher who lived here for some years, but since last year there has been an Armenian Protestant, receiving 1,000 *piasters* a month from the Bible Society (when the Greek metropolitan who is in charge of ten thousand souls here, receives 3,800 a year). Every one of their churches has a school and a library. The librarian receives 500 *piasters* a month and the library is rented by the Bible Society.

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to the *Hatt-i Humayun* (Imperial Rescript) of 1856, issued by Sultan Abdülmecit I.



In Erzerum, there are two American preachers. They have five hundred followers, a school, and a library.

In Mush, there are some three hundred Armenian Protestants.

In Van, the Americans have converted some one thousand people, and they have a school and a library.

In Diarbekir, two American missionaries have had a great success among the Armenian-Gregorian population.

Overall, the efforts of the American missionaries are concentrated on the Armenian-Gregorians who, not having any defender among the Christian nations, have been left, with their religious leader, to the arbitrary rule of the Turks. Their faith in their religion is thus weak. Their primates even tried last year to solicit the protection of our government. However, because Osman Pasha, the Governor of Dzhenik, was appointed the Vali of Trebizond and planned to drive all Armenian converts to Russia, their petition to His Highness was delayed and I am enclosing it with this report.

Protestantism has not made many gains among the Greeks. In Kayseri, however, a segment of the Greek population that was unsatisfied with their bishop, who has been their pastor for the past five years, began to heed the words of the missionaries. Their bishop, who had the welfare of his flock in mind, gave in to their demands and the problem has been resolved.

As to the Catholic propagation: Supported openly by the French, the Catholics have had great success among the Armenian-Gregorian inhabitants in the cities. The reasons for this are the Armenian clergy's constant disagreement with the population and the ease of conversion. The Roman Church permits the Armenians to maintain all their religious practices practically unchanged. They only insist that they recognize the pope instead of the catholicos at Etchmiadzin. Recently the Armenians of Kharput and Araskir have had a major disagreement with their patriarch at Constantinople over a number of monasteries. When the judgment went against them, two of their priests went to Constantinople, met with the Lazarists<sup>1</sup> and declared that they, together with a large number of their flock, wished to convert to Catholicism. Following the agreement between the Latins and the Ar-

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to the Armenian Catholic brotherhood (the Mekhitarists) who lived on the island of San Lazzaro in Venice.

menian Catholics, the Lazarists sent them to the Armenian Catholic patriarch, who made them members of the Roman Church. Two hundred Armenian families followed their pastors and the Armenian Catholic bishop of Trebizond was asked by his superiors in Constantinople to supervise their affairs. The pope, showing his pleasure, sent large silver crosses, silver chalices, and other religious adornments to Kharput and Araskir. The new converts asked Emperor Napoleon,<sup>1</sup> through the French consular agency, to help them build a church in Kharput. When the other Armenians, who had remained faithful to their faith, won over the local governor, Cemal Pasha—who had refused to convert an Armenian Church to a Catholic one—the Armenian Catholic bishop, through his patriarch, Khassun, in Constantinople, and through the French embassy, removed Cemal Pasha and replaced him with ‘Ali-Reza Pasha, who, of course, supported the claims of the Armenian Catholics.

In Mush and its environs, some two hundred fifty Armenian families became Catholic through similar circumstances. It has to be noted that Mush, after Etchmiadzin, is the most holy place for the Armenian-Gregorians.

In Adana, some forty to fifty families have converted to Catholicism.

Finally, a few days ago, two Armenians from Van arrived in Erzerum and told their coreligionists that half the Armenian population of Van, due to disagreements with their clergy, had embraced Catholicism.

If we add to the above the various other Catholic priests: the Capuchins (from Varna to Trebizond and Erzerum), the Dominicans (in the interior of Anatolia), Lazarists (on the Persian borders), and others, then the Armenian Church is in no position to do battle with such strong propagation.

If the Greek clergy, however, were educated, and if they could utilize the same methods and had the same support as the Catholic and Protestant missionaries, then in their present condition the Armenian-Gregorians would sooner join our Church than be part of the others.

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<sup>1</sup> French emperor, Napoleon III (1852-1870).

## 420

*Secretary Kruzenshtern to Catholicos Matt'ēos*(20 August 1860)<sup>1</sup>

Our consul general in Tabriz has informed our Imperial Mission [in Tehran] of the case of a Russian subject, Ya'qubjan Markarov. His wife, Sofia, having produced [in court] false statements from four Armenian priests, is in the process of claiming Ya'qubjan's house. The witnesses have sworn that the house belonged to the wife, who is a subject of Persia. They added that part of the movable property also belonged to their daughter-in-law, Elisabeth, and her brother Grigor, both Persian subjects.

Our minister in Tehran has stated that the Armenian clergy do not have the right to get involved in civil matters and act against Russian subjects. This matter concerns the governor of Azerbaijan and our government and a letter of complaint has been dispatched to State Secretary Cherniaev, by an official of our consulate in Tabriz.

His Excellency Anichkov is of the opinion that it is imperative that a strong reminder be sent to the priests in Tabriz that they are not to get involved in cases against our subjects in favor of the Persian government. That would place our mission in an awkward position as the protector of the rights of the Armenian Church in Persia. Anichkov has asked me to remind you of the case of the Prussian envoy, Baron Minutoli, against the Armenian bishop of Isfahan, Faddei (Thaddeus), which was resolved in the favor of the latter after our mission stated that he was a Russian subject.

His Excellency, Prince Alexander Ivanovich, has asked me to submit the resolution of this matter to the attention of Your Holiness.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 470), 537.

<sup>2</sup> On 8 September, the catholicos wrote a note to Kruzenshtern, in which he stated that he had asked the Armenian bishop of Azerbaijan, Avel, to immediately gather all the facts and to submit them to Etchmiadzin. He added that the moment he heard any news he would dispatch it swiftly to Prince Bariatinskii in Tiflis, *ibid.*, (doc. 471), 537-538. The new catholicos had already taken steps in establishing ties with the Persian court. On 8 *Rabi' I*, 1276 (24 September 1859 o.s.) he wrote two letters, the first to Naṣr al-Din Shah Qajar (1848-1896), and the second to the foreign minister of Persia, Mīrzā Sa'īd Khan. Both messages stated that there were numerous *farmans* from the various shahs of Persia in the archives of Etchmiadzin and that Persia had always

## 421

*Secretary Kruzenshtern to Prince Bariatinskii*  
(17 September 1860)<sup>1</sup>

The military governor of Erevan, who is also in charge of the civilian sector, reported in July of this year that a hydrometer will be placed in Lake Gokchay (Sevan) to ascertain if the water level is falling constantly or periodically. Since the atmospheric conditions may play a role in this, Major General Koliubakin suggests that we establish a full meteorological station at Lake Gokchay.

A meteorological station will be of great benefit, according to General Koliubakin, because the atmospheric conditions change quickly and drastically in the Erevan province. The governor asks that we immediately send him the following instruments: barometer, thermometer, and Illuviometer. Mr. Frolov will take charge of them.

The director of the Tiflis Magnetic Observatory, who was informed of this request, stated that in his opinion this would be very useful undertaking that would enhance science and would be beneficial to the Erevan province. He added that the necessary instruments could be supplied by his observatory.

## 422

*Prince Tarkhan-Mouravov<sup>2</sup> to Prince Orbelianov<sup>3</sup>*  
(30 November 1861)<sup>4</sup>

Following the memo sent by the vice-governor to the Caucasian administration, dated 16 August, regarding the facts surrounding the religious discord among the Armenians of Shemakha, I was sent a mes-

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looked upon the Holy See as the leader of the Armenian people. The catholicos thanked the Persians for sending their envoy, Dāvūd Khan, with presents to Etchmiadzin and concluded by expressing his gratitude for the benevolence of the shah and his government towards the Armenians in Persia, *AKAK*, XII (docs. 468-469), 536-537.

<sup>1</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 350), 405-406.

<sup>2</sup> Major General Tarkhan-Mouravov was responsible for the civilian section, which was under the military governor of Baku.

<sup>3</sup> Adjutant General Prince Orbelianov was a high-ranking official under the viceroy.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, XII (doc. 472), 538-539 (confidential).

sage, written on 22 November, by relay-horse mail that my presence was necessary in Shemakha.

Here is my report: The discord began about fifteen years ago. Sargis Ambartsumov, an Armenian who was educated by the missionaries of the Evangelical Society in the town of Shushi, was forced to leave Shushi and go abroad with them, as a result of the complaints of the Armenian clergy. He returned in 1840 and opened a private school in Shemakha, where he began to instill Evangelical dogma. The local Armenian clergy objected and the matter was taken to court, where it is still unresolved.

Ambartsumov, however, has continued to spread his views and has attracted some followers. Despite formal and hidden threats he and his followers have remained steadfast in their belief. Thus, despite the complaints of the Armenian clergy, nothing was done and the Evangelical group has grown wider and bolder.

Finally they were told that if they did not change their ways they would be separated from the Armenian Church. Although the catholicos is the only person who can sever that connection, the hierarchy of the Armenian Church in Shemakha supposedly received a written order to separate these Armenians from their ancestral religion. When this was announced in church, Ambartsumov and his followers immediately left; they were then condemned to hell and severed from the Armenian Church. From then on the apostates have become more vocal. It has to be noted that the local clergy will render services to any one of them who will state in writing that he will abide by the rules of the Armenian Church.

Although Ambartsumov has been educated in the Evangelical spirit, his education has been superficial. There is no uniformity to his teaching of the dogma, and his followers do as they please. They read the New Testament in fields and gardens, or in houses. Although some can read, most of Ambartsumov's followers are illiterate. The main object seems to be not the reading of the sacred texts but admonishing the Armenian Church.

The entire heresy consists of the fact, that, like our *Raskolniks*, these Armenians do not reject the Bible, Gospels, or other holy scriptures. The main problem is that they do not interpret them as the Church does. It would have been easy to stop this movement early on, but since it did not meet serious restrictions, it has grown. Ambartsu-

mov has received money from missionaries in Germany and with those funds has attracted Armenian followers.

If the situation is not resolved, the animosity between the two groups may cause major problems. It may also create unsavory repercussions among the Armenians in Russia and abroad. Although the Armenian community in Shemakha is not large, they have contacts with their coreligionists abroad and will inform them of our government's action in this matter. Ambartsumov does not lack intelligence and points out the errors of the local [Armenian] chiefs, which makes him even more disliked by the Armenians. Armenians are extremely loyal to our government and this matter may cause grumbling.

I have, unfortunately, to report that here as in other places, the priests' behavior and education cannot elicit much respect and admiration from the people. In all fairness, the Armenian bishop of Shemakha has offered to write to Etchmiadzin on behalf of the apostates and request an educated priest who would teach them the Gospels, but they have refused.

It is obvious that Ambartsumov, and after him, Isai Antonov and Rustam Gavriilov, are the main movers in separating Armenians from their Church. If it is truly for the sake of their souls, that they wish to join the Lutheran faith, I suggest: That we exile the above three individual and announce that they, like their fathers and other Armenians, have to follow the rituals of the Armenian Church. Time will be the judge of whether this is just a whim or is it truly a spiritual matter. If after some time, the Armenians [Lutherans] of Shemakha are still adamant, then Your Excellency can decide if our government wishes to create such an unpleasant situation that they would join their ministers in exile, or wishes to segregate them in a village of their own or take other measures. I don't think that they would wish to break contact with their Armenian families and friends and predict that they will return to the Armenian Church. Then Ambartsumov and the others, if they are truly displeased with the behavior of the local Armenian clergy, can present their grievances to His Holiness, the catholicos, who will take necessary measures. But to permit individuals to take advantage of the freedom granted by our government to pass judgment on religious matters is in my opinion impossible and damaging.

423

*Ministry of the Interior*<sup>1</sup> to Prince Orbelianov  
(30 April 1862)<sup>2</sup>

A petition by eighty-one Armenians from Shemakha has been forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior. They request that they be permitted to join the Evangelical-Lutheran Church.

In their petition they state that they were born as members of the Armenian Gregorian Church and had no intention of leaving it. They did, however, occasionally gather to read the Holy Scriptures. But since the Church itself, apparently by an order of the catholicos dated 10 June of last year, has cast them out and has forbidden Armenian priests from serving them and since they have been subjected to oppression, they wish to join the Evangelical-Lutheran Church.

It is my duty to inform you of my opinion in this matter: The Armenian Gregorian Church in its teachings resembles our Orthodox Church. That is the reason that the Armenians, no matter what state they live under, see Russia as the defender of their Church and their ethnic identity--this is very important to our policy in the East. Foreign missionaries, with the help of Western governments, are spreading Catholicism and Protestantism among the Armenians. The French and the English are thus reducing our influence in the East. Protestantism, which has swiftly spread among the Turkish and Persian Armenians, has been some years ago designated as a separate Armenian Church.<sup>3</sup> The movements spread in the 1840s when the present catholicos, Matt'ēos, who was at that time the patriarch of Constantinople, persecuted them severely, just as he is doing now. This resulted in the total alienation of thousands from the Armenian Church. Pressure from the English government forced the Porte to recognize the Armenian Protestant Church as a separate entity, like the other Christian entities, with its own political rights. Catholicos Matt'ēos, however, has continued his spirit of religious intolerance, and contrary to the rules of Christianity and to our laws, has alienated the Armenians of

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<sup>1</sup> Written by the State-Secretary Valuev.

<sup>2</sup> AKAK, XII (doc. 473), 539-541.

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian Protestant *millet* was formed in 1847. The Armenian Catholic *millet* was established in 1831.

Shemakha. They were accused of being Protestants mainly because they occasionally gathered to read Holy Scriptures. He shall have the same result he had in Turkey, especially when we take into account the success of the missionaries from Basel, who arrived in Transcaucasia to spread Christianity among the Muslims but ended concentrating solely on the Armenians. Complaints from the Armenian clergy finally removed them from that region, but their influence remained. Some of the Armenians of Shemakha, most notably Ambartsumov, studied with the missionaries abroad and have opened a school and are openly in contact with the missionaries abroad, who since their departure have been trying to return to the Caucasus. Thus the present petition is not so much the wish of the local Armenians as that of the foreign missionaries who wish to reestablish their presence, open free schools, distribute books, and due to the poor education of our Armenian priests, as well as the mood of local Armenians, to convert a large part of the Armenians of Transcaucasia. Then the English government will deem it necessary to open consulates in some of the cities of Transcaucasia and spread their influence over the inhabitants of the Caucasus....

I suggest that the current problem does not have its roots in Shemakha but is due to the actions of the catholicos. It will be advantageous if we convince the catholicos to give in to some of their demands, to send intelligent clerics, for example Agapirov or Papazov, who have studied in the University of Dorpat,<sup>1</sup> and to permit the Protestants of Shemakha to have Bible readings. In the meantime we should ask our officials there to convince the Armenians to remain in their Church.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> University of Dorpat (Tartu) in Estonia offered courses in German and Russian. Khach'atur Abovcan (1805-1848), one of the founders of modern eastern Armenian literature, studied there and faced major problems with the Armenian clergy when he returned to Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> In a report written from 8-20 June 1862, Bariatinskii wrote to Valuev that he had met, in Wildbad, with Pastor Josenganz, a representative of the missionaries in Basel. They stated that Ambarstumov was acting as an individual and that they had stopped their activities in Transcaucasia when the Russians had declared them illegal. He added that the representative of the missionaries expressed the gratitude of their Society for the freedom granted the Württemberg [German] colonists in the Caucasus. Bariatinskii concluded that he had told the pastor that if he finds out that the Basel Evangelicals had been secretly proselytizing among the Armenians in the Caucasus,



## 424

*Secretary Kruzenstern to Catholicos Matt'ēos*(20 July, 1862)<sup>1</sup>

Your Holiness's letter to the viceroy of the Caucasus, dated 13 August of last year, stated that twelve Armenian families from the village of Shahriar, led by Ohan (Ogan) Sultan Shakhaturnov, wish to accept the Orthodox faith and that Shakhaturnov, relying on Russian protection, has defied the other villagers, has barred churches, has beaten the bell ringer, has removed the cassocks of a priest, and has interrupted mass.

We have asked the military governor of Erevan to submit a report in this matter and to assure the inhabitants of Shahriar that His Imperial Majesty has granted them full freedom of worship and that a change in one's religion cannot affect one's fortune....

Major General Shcherbov-Nefedovich has reported that the inquiry made by the Church, led by Vardapet Grigor, concluded that there was no evidence that Shakhaturnov had blocked churches or interrupted mass. No one in Shahriar had heard or seen anything. The Erevan diocese has not been able to locate the priest nor has it found the bell ringer. It seems that what was reported to Your Holiness was only hearsay. It was also concluded that the families in question indeed want to convert to Orthodoxy. The military governor, therefore, announced to the inhabitants of Shahriar that they are free to embrace any religion and that it would not have adverse effects. He reports that 121 souls have decided to remain steadfast in their conviction and have converted to Orthodoxy.

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contrary to Russian law and through their agents, then through his friendship with His Imperial Majesty he would see that the ties of the Württemberg colonists with Basel were terminated, *AKAK*, XII (doc. 474), 541.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 475), 541-542.

## 425

*Catholicos Matt'ēos to Prince Orbelianov*  
(27 October, 1862)<sup>1</sup>

There exists in our Etchmiadzin monastery a decree granted to the Armenian people by the successor of Moḥammad, 'Alī, in which 'Alī instructs his followers to make sure that the Armenians continue to live in safety and peace throughout his domains. Unfortunately, in some of the provinces of Persia, the instructions of 'Alī's decree concerning the Armenians are not observed. I have been recently informed that one of the Armenians of [New] Julfa in Isfahan, influenced by the mullahs, has converted to Islam, and with their help has taken all their belongings from his maternal and paternal relatives. Furthermore the '*olamā*' ('ulamā')<sup>2</sup> of Isfahan have forced the wife and the children of that individual to become Muslims as well. After demanding more information, I have learned that the Persian government and the local governor have played no part in this matter and that the dogmatic '*olamā*' of Isfahan were solely responsible.

I request that Your Excellency, through the Russian representatives to the court in Tehran, demand that Armenians should be free from harassment and forcible conversion to Islam.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 476), 542.

<sup>2</sup> Muslim religious hierarchy, composed of scholars, teachers, and jurists.

<sup>3</sup> The report must have been forwarded to Anichkov in St. Petersburg, for on 31 October, the Ministry of Religious Affairs sent a note to the Russian mission in Tehran asking them to look into this matter. A representative of the Russian mission responded on December 7 that the archbishop of Isfahan, Tat'ewos, had already written to the Persian government. The foreign minister of the shah, after receiving the Russian note, had written to the archbishop of his special regard for the Armenians. The report concluded that all contacts in this matter between Russia and Persia were made unofficially since religion is considered above everything, and that the shah's ministers could not openly reprimand Shi'ite religious leaders for preaching their faith--for it is one of their primary duties. Finally, the authenticity of 'Alī's decree was seriously questioned, and even if such a document appeared, the Muslims could not ignore the instructions of the Qur'an to spread their religion, *AKAK*, XII, (doc. 477), 542.

XI  
(January 1867-November 1889)<sup>1</sup>

426

*Petition to Catholicos Gēorg IV*<sup>2</sup>  
(20 January 1867)<sup>3</sup>

We the undersigned, the inhabitants of the Ch'ar Sanjak, like the people of Israel, are living in a state of captivity [in Turkish Armenia]....First of all, in order for virgins or widows to marry, we have to pay from 500 to 1500 *kurus* to the village aga. Second, all the males have to perform free labor year-round in the fields, gardens, and orchards, without being fed (and having to provide for our own food) and give the aga 50 to 60 loads of wood, as well as oil, sheep, lambs, and the best fruit. Those who resist, refuse, or delay are put in chains and have to face bastinado, the sword, or the rifle....Our women serve as domestics....Third, for the past eighty years we have been forced to pay the state taxes of the agas...We would have patiently born all the above, had they not begun to take our ancestral lands from us. We have lost our homes, fields, and orchards. Our *sanjak* has dwindled from 3,000 to 1,500 households....<sup>4</sup> We are not even permitted to bury our dead and although we had documents which proved that the land was part of [historic] Armenia, the agas took our documents and burned them. We have sent requests to the patriarchate and to the vizier in Constantinople but have not received any reply....The agas have sucked our blood like leeches and there is no possibility of reconcilia-

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<sup>1</sup> The documents in this section deal with Armenian political activities in Transcaucasia and eastern Turkey, as well as the participation of the Transcaucasian Armenians in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicos Gēorg IV of Constantinople (1866-1885)

<sup>3</sup> MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 202, doc. 549.

<sup>4</sup> The document has 55 signatures and seals.

tion. Our prelate left eight months ago for Constantinople and has not returned....Our Lord, Jesus Christ said, "Ask and you shall receive, knock and the door will be opened." Our requests are unanswered and the door remains closed....We are informing Your Holiness that sooner or later an incident will provoke our inhabitants to action and no one will be able to stop it then....It is possible that you have learned of our problems by reading the newspapers....This is our final request....

## 427

*Invitation to Join the Devotion to the Fatherland Bureau*  
(25 June 1874)<sup>1</sup>

Dear Friend. Mr. Arshak Ter Ghazareants‘

On the twentieth of this month, in the town of Big Kara-Kilisa (Medz Gharakilisa) in the region of Pambak located in the district of Alexandropol‘ we are planning to organize a society called the Devotion to the Fatherland.<sup>2</sup> We plan to meet twice a week--on Mondays and Thursdays. On Sundays we plan to meet from 9 in the morning to 12 noon and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon to read Armenian national writings, such as history, newspapers, and literature....We have recruited the following members: Alexander Lazaryants‘, Mkrtich‘ Lazaryants‘, and Baghdasar Ch‘arkhch‘yants‘....

Hambardzum Harut‘iwn Balasanyants‘

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA*, Records of the Third Section, file 120, f. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian name was *Kontora Hayrenait‘ Siro*. It operated from 1874 to 1875. The society was founded in Medz Gharakilisa on 20 June 1874. It was composed of young men, and it met three times a week. They were arrested in spring 1875 (by Zolotovskii) and were imprisoned for one and a half years.

## 428

*Report of Major Zolotovskii*<sup>1</sup>  
(8 April 1875)<sup>2</sup>

I have heard that young Armenians have organized a bureau under the name of "Devotion to the Fatherland Bureau" (*Kontora Liubvi Otechestva*). This bureau, I am told, is located either in Alexandropol' or in the Big Kara-Kilisa settlement in the Alexandropol' *uezd*. I traveled to the Alexandropol' *uzed* to investigate this bureau. In Kara-Kilisa I had the chance to see a letter written by the interpreter of the Pambak court, Ambartsum Arutiunov Balasanians (Hambardzum Harut'yun Balasanyants'), to Kazarians (Ghazareants'), the clerk of the chancery of the Alexandropol' regional administration....<sup>3</sup>

I was told that Balasanians was the secretary of the bureau. He studied at Alexandropol' and had served as an interpreter to our agent in Kars until he was discharged for drunkenness. After that he served at the court of justice in Alexandropol', where he was also discharged by the judge, Prince Tumanov, for drunkenness. At present he is in Kulb, where he serves the tax farmer Adamov. The rest of the bureau is composed of Baghdasar Charukhians [Charikchians], a resident of Kara-Kilisa, a saddle maker, who although illiterate is respected in his community; Alexander Lazrians, who sells salt and buys cotton and wool; and his brother, Mkrtich, who is a shoemaker; Gevork Khosrovians, who is a gardener [actually owner of vineyards] from Alexandropol' presently living in Akhaltsikhe.

I have the honor to inform the third section of His Imperial Majesty's chancery that their activities have been reported to the regional procurator, who in turn has informed the procurator general of Tiflis.

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<sup>1</sup> Major Zolotovskii was the chief of gendarmes of the Erevan province. He was responsible for the arrest of Armenians suspected of political activities.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA*, Records of the Third Section [Secret Police], folder 120, f. 19. The Third Section was formed (started in 1826 and completed by 1842) by Tsar Nicholas I as a special section of the Imperial Chancery. It functioned until 1880, when it was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior and was connected with the regular police; see S. Monas, *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russia under Nicholas I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

<sup>3</sup> See document 427.

Another resident of Alexandropol' who has attracted attention to himself is Sargis Bek-Kazariants, a young Armenian interpreter. He is a teacher at the boarding school for Armenian girls. He is a graduate of the Chiurikhskii Pedagogical Seminary and received his early education at the Armenian religious seminary in Tiflis.

429

*Report of Major Zolotovskii*(14 May 1875)<sup>1</sup>

On 30 April, the procurator of Tiflis gave me details on the activities of the "Devotion to the Fatherland Bureau." The bureau was organized by the Armenians of Kara-Kilisa, located in the Alexandropol' district. During the search conducted on 9 May of the residence of Balasaniants, poems of a patriotic nature were found. One such poem "To the Armenians," was written by the brother of Balasaniants, who has studied at the Alexandropol' religious school. Poems were also written by the students under the direction of Vardapet Iosif Galoiants. During the search we uncovered the existence of another Armenian group, called "The Goodwill Society."<sup>2</sup> This group was organized by another teacher, Arsen Kritiants (Kritian/Kritean), who would gather the members in the library, where they would read various books and newspapers. The name of the members of this society was recorded in a book called "The Crown of Glory"<sup>3</sup> ....The procurator of Tiflis gave me permission to arrest Kritiants, who confessed his guilt. I am presently involved in rounding up the other members whose names appear in the book....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA*, Records of the Third Section, folder 120, ff. 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Barenepatak Enkeruthiun* (1868-1875) was founded in Alexandropol' by a young teacher, Arsen Kritean. The members of the society, which included Petros Haikazuni, were also arrested by Zolotovskii and were released after eighteen months in prison.

<sup>3</sup> The book in question was probably the *Snare of Glory* (*Vorogait Parats*) a detailed constitution for an independent Armenia, published in Madras in the last quarter of the eighteenth century by an Armenian group led by Hakob Shahamirean.

<sup>4</sup> Balasaniants planned to inform the Armenians of the existence of the bureau via the newspaper *Mshak* (see below) and had requested an annual membership fee of 3 rubles to cover the expenses of the bureau, see *TSGIA*, Records of the Ministry of Justice, group 4, folder 7269, f. 5.

## 430

*Report of Major Zolotovskii*  
(25 August 1875)<sup>1</sup>

In our search of the premises of the members of the "Goodwill Society" we found a number of books from Turkey that had not been approved by our censors....We found poems written by the students of the Armenian seminary on themes that encouraged the Armenians to reestablish the independence of their nation. We also found out that members of the society were permitted by the clergy to deliver [nationalistic] speeches in Armenian churches....I was informed that in one of these speeches, Haikazuni, a member of the society, inflamed the people to rise and to establish an independent Armenia. He informed a colleague in Alexandropol' that his speech was received with great enthusiasm. The Armenians of this area have been collecting funds for schools and various publications. For example, Gulamirants, a merchant from Erevan, who had written a tragic play on the life of Senekerim of Vaspurakan, solicited funds for its publication and managed to have a large printing of this work, which was approved by the Armenian chief of police of Erevan. The Erevan province now has, in addition to the printing press at Etchmiadzin, three other presses, a new press in Etchmiadzin, one in Erevan, and another one in Alexandropol'....

## 431

*Viceroy Michael<sup>2</sup> to the Minister of Justice*  
(26 December 1875)<sup>3</sup>

The entire episode [of the Armenian political activities] is now clear. In 1868 and 1869 a society was formed in Alexandropol' to acquire books and newspapers for its members. It collected 32 rubles and 50 kopeks. The society was founded without the approval of the state. Arsen Kritian, the founder of the society claimed that he was unaware of the fact that he needed the permission of the authorities....In April

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA, Records of the Third Section, folder 120, f. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Michael N. Romanov, viceroy of the Caucasus from 1863 to 1882.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA, Records of the Ministry of Justice, group 4, folder 7269, ff. 6-12.

1873 the society collected 44 rubles. The society distributed a "History of Armenia," printed outside our borders, among the students of Alexandropol' without it having cleared our censors.

While searching Kritian's domicile, various books in Armenian, none of which had been cleared by us, were found in his possession. A portrait of King Haik, a sign with the "Goodwill Society" logo, and a book entitled *Crown of Glory*, which listed the names of forty-three members of the society were also found there.

The by-laws of the society state that it endeavors to help the Armenians and that its members cannot exceed fifty [members]. In addition the members have to be young and have to set a good example to others. The membership dues are 3 kopeks a week (articles 1-3). Articles 13-14 state that it is the sacred duty of each member to carry out the orders of the society. Those who disobey the orders will be initially reprimanded, fined the second time, and discharged after that. The society can exempt certain members from these duties. The remaining articles describe the election of members. Members were to attend readings every Sunday. Failure to attend was punished by 5 kopeks the first time, 10 kopeks the second time, and exclusion from the society upon the third offense.

Among Kritian's belongings were articles addressed to his friends stating that the "Goodwill Society" was formed to unite the Armenians [Russian and Turkish Armenians]. There was also a book on the policy of Russian rule and the Russification of Armenia, printed in Constantinople in 1866. Finally, there was a letter written by Kritian to an unknown bishop in which he criticized the Russian government. During interrogation, Kritian stated that it had been written when he was young and on the spur of the moment.

Ambartsum Balasaniants, a resident of Alexandropol', thirty-five years of age [during interrogation] stated that his letter, dated 29 June 1874 to Ashak Ter-Kazarov clearly indicated that he and his associates formed the "Devotion to the Fatherland Bureau" with the sole purpose of buying books and newspapers to educate the Armenians. When he did not receive the necessary funds, he wrote to Ter-Kazarov, asking



him to publish a notice in *Mshak*<sup>1</sup> about the benevolent activities of the bureau. Among his belongings, found during the search, were two letters belonging to his brother, Vagharshak, containing poems extolling the past greatness of Armenia and calling for the repulsion of the enemies of the Armenian people.

Among the members of the society were seven individuals--Alexander Aprikov, 20 years old; Gevork Kasabov, 21; Agajan Goroyants, 22; Karapet Ohanjanov 18; Senekerim Lolaev, 16; and Arutium Ohanjanov, 32--who at Kritian's invitation had sent funds for the publication of books and journals and who had helped form the library.

Arsen Kritian has been under arrest in Alexandropol' since 11 May 1875. Ambartsum Balasaniants is under police surveillance, and the rest have been told not to leave their place of domicile. The procurator of the Central Court in Tiflis, in accordance with the law, has suggested the following penalties:

1. Arsen Kritian....according to the Penal Code of 1868 (Articles 1 and 2, section 318), should remain in jail for six months and after that be under police surveillance for two years.

2. Ambarstum Balasaniants, Melik Chimishkiants, Alexander Aprik-ov, Kevork Kasabov, Agajan Goroyants, Karapet Ohanjanov, Seneke-rim Lolaev, and Arutium Ohanjanov should be strongly reprimanded by the chief of the Alexandropol' district and firmly told to cease any further illegal activities of this nature....

In submitting the procurator's report (no. 1289), I am forwarding the petition of Kritian's mother and at the suggestion of our administration, I think that, with the approval of the chief of police, we should cease the surveillance of Balasaniants and after confiscating all illegal material, permit the others to leave their homes with restrictions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Mshak* ("Laborer") was the major Armenian newspaper in Transcaucasia. It was published in Tiflis from 1872 to 1920. Its first editor was Grigor Ardžruni (1845-1892), who encouraged nationalist writers to contribute to the paper.

<sup>2</sup> On 22 May the minister of justice accepted the above recommendation, see *TSGIA*, Records of the Third Section, folder 120, f. 53.

## 432

*Armenians of Constantinople to Catholicos Gēorg IV*  
(1876)<sup>1</sup>

Your Holiness already knows of the painful events which have taken place in Bulgaria and the suffering inflicted on its people by the irregular troops of the Ottoman Empire. The Europeans, upon learning of these wicked acts, have shown mercy and have begun to intercede on behalf of the Bulgarians, to save this Christian people from the yoke of slavery.<sup>2</sup> We are sure that if the Europeans become aware of the terrible pains suffered by the Armenians, they will feel sympathy for us as well and will spare our people further agony. It is a fact that our nation has been under the rule of the Turk for many centuries. We suffer incessantly, day and night, under the heavy torture of the Turkish regional commanders, tax collectors, landlords, and other tyrants. They ridicule our priests in public and offend the decency of our women and the honor of our maidens. They slaughter our young and old men and scorn our holy altars and sacred vessels of our churches. Woe on us! What misfortunes haven't befallen on our people. Our belongings have been looted and every hut in our villages have been ransacked. Your Holiness is aware that despite the fact that we have send numerous protests, full of tears and sighs, to the ministers [in Constantinople], we have not received any response. Our tears, enough to form a river, have been ignored. No official has shown any pity. We have thus put all our hopes on the West. Maybe the Christian people of Europe will take pity on us and include us in their plans for Bulgaria.

This letter, which is like an eternal monument in the hearts of the undersigned, asks Your Holiness to be bold and to deliver our message

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<sup>1</sup>MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 228, doc. 23. The document was signed by four thousand Armenians.

<sup>2</sup>The massacre of Bulgarians angered many Europeans and gave Russia the chance to threaten the Ottomans with war. Britain tried to defuse the crisis by proposing an international conference. When the delegates met in Constantinople (23 December, 1876), they were told that a constitution had been promulgated and that since all subjects were granted constitutional rights, any discussion of reforms was superfluous. The failure of the conference prompted Russia to declare war in April 1877.

to the Christian nations [Russia], so that they may find a remedy for the sufferings of an ancient nation.<sup>1</sup>

Your Holiness should be aware that if the conditions are not altered and the days of our bondage continue to grow, we, like the Bulgarians, will have no choice but to shed our blood.

## 433

*Viceroy Michael to Tsar Alexander*

(19 April 1877)<sup>2</sup>

I have been informed by our command that the [Armenian] population of our occupied territory is ready to serve us in any capacity. General Adjutant Loris Melikov<sup>3</sup> requests the permission to begin to enlist those who have volunteered in the pashalik of Kars and to form an initial irregular cavalry unit.

## 434

*Chief of Surmalu to the Governor of Erevan*

(31 July 1877)<sup>4</sup>

Following your instruction of 27 June I have began to form a company of volunteers [one hundred men]: I have recruited our administrative registrars, Gabriël Geghamov and Smbat Musheghov, as company commander and subaltern respectively...as well as thirty others who have begun to serve from the fifteenth of this month. I request that you

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<sup>1</sup> Petitions from the catholicos to the tsar and requests from the Armenians of Constantinople to Russian diplomats were responsible for the inclusion of the Armenian Question in the peace talks of 1878.

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 78664, f. 23.

<sup>3</sup> M. T. Loris Melikov (1825-1888), served under Bariatinskii, Bebutov, and Murav'ev. He and other Armenian military commanders, such as Ter-Gukasov, led the Russian army to victory in the Anatolian campaign during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. A year later he was appointed as governor-general of Lower Volga, minister of the interior, and, finally, first minister of Russia (1879).

<sup>4</sup> TSGA-Arm, Record group 37/101, file 76, f. 1.

approve their appointments, for I am certain that they shall serve faithfully....<sup>1</sup>

## 435

*The Caucasian Army Command to the Governor of Erevan*  
(3 August 1877)<sup>2</sup>

In response to your telegram of 26 July, the administrator in chief, the viceroy of His Imperial Majesty, has decided that: 1) In order to replenish the militia of the region, you can recruit from among the local inhabitants of the Erevan province volunteers to form an irregular cavalry unit; 2) The said unit shall serve as border guards and shall receive a salary appropriate to their rank....<sup>3</sup>

## 436

*List of Donations from the District of Etchmiadzin to the Russian Army*  
(1877)<sup>4</sup>

Etchmiadzin	village <sup>5</sup>	(grain donated in <i>puds</i> & pounds)	
	Kiziltamur	76	10
	Oshakan	215	32
	Hajikara	32	5
	Frankanots	65	30
	Tos	17	37
	Hajilar	16	18

<sup>1</sup> On 1 July, the military commander of Igdir had requested guns and ammunition to arm the inhabitants, *ibid.*, file 65, f. 1. On 5 October he asked for more arms, *ibid.*, f. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, file 71, f. 28.

<sup>3</sup> On 18 August, a similar order was sent to the Alexandropol' district, *ibid.*, file 69, f. 3. On the same day the assistant to the staff commander of the Army of the Caucasus issued orders for the formation of militia units along the Russo-Turkish border in Trans-caucasia, *ibid.*, f. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, file 72, ff. 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> The names of the villages are, for the most part, transliterated as they appear in the Russian text.

	Molladursun	15	22
	Gerampa	30	12
	Aghavnatun	64	31
	Khaznavuz	59	35
	Agchakala	30	10
	Mughanjuk	42	11
	Upper Aylanlu	26	33
Kerpalu (Karbi)			
	Kerpalu	107	2
	Samagar	103	6
	Armenian Zeiva	184	5
	Aylanlu	61	2
	Alibeklu	70	22
	Lower Khatun Arkh	152	20
	Upper Khaun Arkh	57	38
Vagharshapat	Vagharshapat	383	20
Evjilar			
	Markara	68	4
	Chubukhchi	34	25
	Evjilar	46	16
	Ardashar	31	19
	Usun Oba	65	5
	Armutlu	24	25
	Kurdukli	78	39
	Shahriar	129	19
	Small Shahriar	24	5
	Kialak Arkh	45	14
	Ja'farabad	72	33
	Sardārābād	61	10
	Mollabayazid	90	4
	Gecherlu	82	31
	Tapadibi	55	10
	Kizikudan	43	23
	Ashtarak	317	6
	Karpi	105	30
	Ohanavan	53	27

Mughni	23	20
Oshakan	12	5
Parbi	74	5
Kizil Tamur	24	3
Kuzikudan	29	9
Inaklu	13	20
Digir	41	20
Kerpalu	17	3
Aitakh	76	13
Pirahan	85	20
Sardārābād	37	26
Ĵa'farlu	129	6

Total: 3,851 *puds* and 16 pounds.

## 437

***General Dukhovski to General Loris Melikov***

(22 November 1877)<sup>1</sup>

The Christian inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey, to a man, believe that the current war will improve their living conditions. Their behavior suggests that they are loyal to Russia and are willing to sacrifice everything they own for the success of our campaign. In the meantime, however, they are scared that their interests will be ignored after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

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<sup>1</sup> *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 48816, f. 26, dispatch from Hasan-Kale.

## 438

**Treaty of San Stefano**  
(3 March 1878<sup>1</sup>)<sup>2</sup>

Article 16. Since the evacuation of the Russian troops from territories that they occupy in [Turkish] Armenia and that must be returned to Turkey may give rise to conflicts and complications prejudicial to good relations between the two states, the Sublime Porte promises to carry out the necessary local reform in the Armenian provinces without delay and guarantee the security of the Armenians against the Kurds and Circassians.<sup>3</sup>

Article 19 (b). Ardahan, Kars, Batum, Bayazid, and the territory up to Soghanlu is ceded to Russia....The new frontier shall be designated by a commission composed of Russian and Ottoman officials....

## 439

***Report Submitted to the Military Commander of Erevan***<sup>4</sup>  
(April 1878)<sup>5</sup>

After inspecting the four companies of irregular cavalry units of Erevan, I submit that:

The troops and the horses are generally in good shape but will need new equipment if they are to remain on active duty.

The stablemen have not been given any provisions since January 1 and have been living at their own expense.

They have received 14 pounds of wheat and 10 pounds of barley for fodder, 2 rubles and 40 kopeks in pay, plus 1 ruble and 10 kopeks for provisions, well below the normal rate (20 pounds of wheat and 7 pounds of barley, as well as 1 ruble, 35 kopeks for provisions)....

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Gregorian calendar.

<sup>2</sup> G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, III (Paris, 1902), 516-517. The treaty was signed on 25 *Şafar* 1295 *Hijri*. Articles concerning the Armenians are included here.

<sup>3</sup> Although the article is vague, it was understood that Russian troops would remain in Turkish Armenia until the completion of the reforms.

<sup>4</sup> The report was submitted by the Cossack *ataman* of the cavalry.

<sup>5</sup> *TSGA-Arm*, record group 37/101, file 71, ff. 52-53.

The troops have not receive firewood or candles and had to use their own funds to purchase these items....<sup>1</sup>

## 440

**Treaty of Berlin**  
(13 July 1878)<sup>2</sup>

Article LVIII. The Sublime Porte cedes to the Russian Empire in Asia the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum, together with the latter port, as well as all the territories between the former Russo-Turkish frontier...leaving the town of Olti to Russia....

Article LX. The valley of Alashkert and the town of Bayazid, ceded to Russia by Article XIX of the Treaty of San Stefano, are restored to Turkey.

Article LXI. The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds.<sup>3</sup>

It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

## 441

***Report to the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople***  
(15 December 1879)<sup>4</sup>

American missionaries from Boston have opened schools in Diarbekir, Mardin, Kharpout...and have attracted some 700 students...They have religious material printed in English, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, and Kurdish. Between 1868 and 1879 they have sold 2,728 Bibles, 2,890 religious books, and 6,362 articles on education, for a total of 53,627 piasters...The purpose of the missionaries is

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<sup>1</sup> On 1 May the *ataman* sent a report detailing the ranks within the irregular cavalry corps, which was led by Major Avetov, *ibid.*, ff. 55-57.

<sup>2</sup> Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, I, 190. Articles dealing with the Armenians and Transcaucasia are included here. The treaty was ratified by the Turks on 28 August (according to the Gregorian calendar).

<sup>3</sup> The Russian presence in Turkish Armenia is no longer mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 78735, ff. 4-8.



to turn the [Greek] Orthodox, the Armenians, the Syrians, the Nestorians [Assyrians], and the Yezidis into Protestants. They hope to destroy their nationality and to unite them into one group....

## 442

*Report from the Russian Vice-Consul at Van*(29 April 1880)<sup>1</sup>

The famine in Van has spread to such an extent that in Khekkari alone two hundred persons have died. The main reason for this is the inaction of the local administration. The governor, Hasan Pasha, in order to send a large sum of money to Constantinople, has sold all the grain reserves....

The Armenians have distanced themselves from the English [in Van]. A very strong national movement is spreading among the Armenians. The main force behind this is the "Araratian" Society, which plans to educate the Turkish Armenians. Most of its leaders and its financial base come from the Russian citizens--Armenians from the Caucasus. The Armenian activities here are pro-Russian in nature. The Turkish government is aware of this and has begun strict measures to restrict contacts between Turkish and Russian Armenians. For example, Armenian journals published in Russia have been banned here....

## 443

*Prince Michael to Acting Foreign Minister Giers<sup>2</sup>*(8 October 1880)<sup>3</sup>

A number of young Armenians in some Transcaucasian towns have secretly gone to Turkey and have voluntarily joined various groups to encourage an uprising among the Turkish Armenians against their government. I have ordered strict measures to detain them at our borders and shall inform you of any further developments.

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<sup>1</sup> AVPR, Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenian folder, file 115, f. 18.

<sup>2</sup> N. K. Giers (Girs) was minister of foreign affairs from 1882 to 1895.

<sup>3</sup> TSGIA, Records of the Third Section, file 707, f. 1.

## 444

*Report of Colonel Filippov to Counselor Novikov*  
(19 October 1880)<sup>1</sup>

Obeying your instruction of October 17 to ascertain from the Armenian patriarch, Nersēs,<sup>2</sup> the following: 1. The actual situation in [Turkish] Armenia. 2. Whether he is aware that many young Armenians from Trans-caucasia are secretly crossing into Turkey. 3. What is the purpose of these border crossings? I met with the patriarch yesterday (18 October) and he gave me the following explanation.

At the start of the war [1877] the Armenians in some regions of Turkey were subjected to such oppression that they were prepared to rebel regardless of the hopeless outcome of such an act....

The patriarch managed to calm them by promising that the situation would improve. These promises were later stated in the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin and reiterated by the European representatives in Constantinople. Anarchy in Turkish Armenia was to cease and the population, relying on European intervention, was hoping for a brighter future.

After waiting for two months for the resolution of the Armenian Question, the Porte realized that the Europeans were not pressing the issue, and revived Abbedin Pasha's project; a project that was previously unanimously rejected by the Europeans. This was a plan to redraw the administrative map of Turkish Armenia in such a way that Armenians would not represent a majority [in the *vilayets*]. Neighboring regions, populated by Kurds and Turks, were attached to Armenian-populated districts. In addition, the Porte began to harass the Armenians and to appoint its own bishops in [Turkish Armenia] without the approval of the patriarch. The Armenians have thus lost hope of any help from the outside, including that of the patriarch.

According to the patriarch the situation is so desperate that he would not rule out an armed insurrection. The patriarch states that Turkish and Transcaucasian Armenians have already approached him with the idea of a revolt, a plan which he has rejected, but which may

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<sup>1</sup> AVPR, Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenian folder, file, 119, ff. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Nersēs Varzhapetean, patriarch of Constantinople from 1874-1884.

be carried out by a small group of zealots. The patriarch added that his authority extends solely to religious matters and he cannot police the behavior of the Armenians in Turkey....

## 445

*Report of Counselor Kamsarakan, the Russian Vice-Consul in Van*  
(12 November, 1880)<sup>1</sup>

Although the newspaper reports of the uprisings of the Armenians in Van and Bitlis have proved unfounded, they have moved the Armenians in Transcaucasia to come to the aid of their people. Groups of armed Armenians are prepared to cross the border. A group of thirty-five men reached Alashkert, where they awaited others to join them. Realizing that there was no uprising in Van, they returned to Russia, where they stopped the others from moving into Turkey....Rumors of Turkish repression in Anatolia has brought the Christians together. The Nestorians of the vilayet of Van under their leader, Marshimun, have begun discussions with the Armenians for joint defense measures against their enemies.<sup>2</sup>

## 446

*Report from the Consul General at Erzerum*  
(25 April 1881)<sup>3</sup>

I was handed two notes in poor Russian written by there Armenians who were captured by the Turks on the road between Van and Bayazid and were taken to Erzerum. The first note stated, "For the sake of God help us. We have no passports. Save us from the Turkish jail. We shall explain everything." Signed by Galust and Arutiun...The Turkish officials have told me that the three were inciting the Armenians of Van to rebel against the Ottomans...They add that the three were definitely

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<sup>1</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 78735, f. 37.

<sup>2</sup> On 7 February 1881 the Russian ambassador to Constantinople wrote to the vice-consul in Van warning him to observe the behavior of Russian Armenian volunteers in his region, AVPR, Records of the Ministry of the Interior, Armenian folder, file 119, f. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 17. The report was sent to the Russian envoy at Constantinople.

in Van and had told the Armenians that a Russian army, 40,000 strong, was on its way to liberate them from tyranny....<sup>1</sup>

447

*Armenians of Van to Tsar Alexander III*

(10 February 1882)<sup>2</sup>

Instead of carrying out the reforms mandated by article 61 of the Berlin Congress, which would put an end to our misery, the Turkish government has instead increased its oppressive measures against us. From the moment that the Treaty of Berlin was signed, thanks to the humanitarian efforts of Russia, the Sublime Porte has refused to carry out the necessary reforms in Armenia. In fact, the members of the central administration have acted with extreme fanaticism against the Christian Armenians and have given officials, as well as bandits, a free hand against us.

Even now...after nine months of discussions of the Armenian Question and the required reforms in [Turkish] Armenia, the government of His Majesty, the Sultan, does not wish to carry out its obligation, as stipulated to in article 61 of the Berlin Congress. They have used various means to avoid implementing it, to crush the hope of the Armenian people, and to erase us from the face of the earth.

Thus, if the mighty humanitarian influence of Your Majesty will not come to our rescue--as it did in Rumeli, which was granted its autonomy--if our patience is not rewarded, and, if article 61 of the Berlin Congress does not become a reality, we shall perish....

Signed: Previous Patriarch of Constantinople Khrimean, Khorēn Hovhannēsean, and Hayrapet Khanzhean

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<sup>1</sup> On 30 April, the chief of gendarmes of Erevan reported to the government that three young men, ages 18, 20, and 21--Baiburtskii, Ohanov, and Otariǰze--had left their gymnasium and were planning to smuggle arms to Turkey. They were caught and after severe reprimand were returned to their school, *TSGIA*, Records of the Third Section, file 707, f. 2. Similar reports from Russian diplomats in Turkey, including the arrest of Turkish Armenians in the interior and the apprehension of the Armenian leaders in Constantinople, can be found in *AVPR*, Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armenian folder, file 71, 261-261, 270-272, 275-276, 278-279, 281, 286; file 119, f. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 48.

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*Governor Dondukov-Korsakov<sup>1</sup> to the Minister of Justice*  
(7 September 1883)<sup>2</sup>

The procurator of Tiflis has made the following report regarding the director of the Erevan gymnasium, Brazhnikov, and the political situation in Erevan....A number of secret political associations, under the guise of benevolent societies, were formed in Erevan. The main activity of these groups was to agitate the Armenians of Asia Minor against the Turkish government. They collected funds and ammunition, as well as printing patriotic pamphlets, revolutionary instructions, and propaganda literature espousing the independence of the Armenian people. The material also encouraged Russian Armenians toward separatist tendencies and independence from Russia.... A number of publications, confiscated during searches in Elisavetpol', indicate the desire, among some Trans-caucasian Armenians, to reestablish the Armenian kingdom by creating independent Turkish and Russian Armenias.

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*Diaspora Armenians to the Russian Minister of Justice*  
(27 October 1885)<sup>3</sup>

In our boldness, we ask Your Excellency to bring to the attention of His Majesty, the Emperor, the fate of millions of Armenians who are suffering under the Turkish yoke....

Fanatic Muslim mullahs see all Christians as unbelievers. The government and the population at large, therefore, threat us as slaves with no regard for our lives, property, and honor....

The Armenians of Cilicia, following the unsuccessful attempts of 1855-1860, once again took up arms to defend their freedom. They

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Mikhailovich Dondukov-Korsakov (1820-1893) was the chief civilian official in the Caucasus from 1882 until 1890.

<sup>2</sup> *TSGIA*, Records of the State Police, file 700, f. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *AVPR*, Armenian Affairs (Embassy of Constantinople), file 3133, f. 27.

were betrayed by Ahmet Pasha Kozanli, and are still languishing in the jails of Marash.

The Armenians of Erzerum, who rose up in 1882, are in this same situation. The Armenians of Van, Mush, and Diarbekir are subjected to unheard-of barbarism and still hope for European intervention.

Our nation is being annihilated and our land destroyed. The murderers are boldly carrying out their plans. Since its acceptance of article 61 of the Berlin treaty, the Turkish government has made every effort to systematically destroy the Armenian nation in its homeland. Those, who through their mental ability or social conditions, are faced with Turkish brutality, are forced to leave their homes. Thousands of fathers and husbands are thus in foreign lands--their numbers increasing daily--where they work to save enough to return to their beloved ones, while their wives, children, and parents perish from want.

We would like to return to our motherland, live there peacefully, and till the soil, which was defended by our ancestors by spilling their blood....

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#### *Junior Censor Karakhanov to the Caucasian Censorship Committee* (November 1889)<sup>1</sup>

This historical novel portrays the conditions of the Armenians in Turkey.... As is evident, the author draws passionate figures, such as Dudukchian and his followers, who through their intense political propaganda try to incite an Armenian rebellion against the Turkish government.<sup>2</sup> The characters in the novel are imbued with a socialistic spirit. The rights of the peasants and the need to shed blood for freedom dominate the work.

Although the situation of Russian Armenians differs from that of Turkish Armenians, it has to be noted that there is a solidarity between the two, as a people who belong to the same nationality and the same religion. Raffi's, drawn with such great talent, will not escape the Russian Armenians....

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<sup>1</sup> TSGIA-Gruz, record group 114, file 976, f. 472.

<sup>2</sup> The novel in question is *Khent (The Mad Man)* by Raffi (Hakob Melik-Hakobean, 1835-1888).

Raffi's book has such a great success among the Armenian intellectuals of Transcaucasia that it is in its second edition. Since the ideas in this book do not agree with our policy, I suggest that we stop the spreading of this work among the Transcaucasian Armenians and recommend that we do not permit Raffi's novel to appear in a third edition....





## XII

### Commentary<sup>1</sup>

#### *Introduction*

The Russian conquest of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia placed an extremely diverse population under the rule of the imperial administration. It took more than fifty years for St. Petersburg to create a civilian and military bureaucracy suitable for Transcaucasia. From the moment that Russia annexed eastern Georgia, at the start of the nineteenth century, there emerged among the Russian administrators two opposing schools of thought regarding Transcaucasia, one termed "regionalist," the other, "centralist."<sup>2</sup> The regionalists, many of whom had spent some time in Transcaucasia, advocated a policy of gradual change, attempted to understand native customs, and encouraged local leaders to join their administration and to take on governmental responsibilities. The centralists, most of them with little experience of the region, favored swift and comprehensive reforms that would standardize and Russianize Trans-caucasia and bring it in line with the central administration

The views of Russian rulers Alexander I and Nicholas I followed this pattern as well. Alexander, overall, favored regionalism. He replaced Knorring, the military commander of the Caucasian Line, who had focused on his military duties at the expense of his administrative ones, with a series of chief administrators (*glavnoupravliaiushchii*)--namely Tsitsianov, Gudovich, Tormasov, Paulucci, Rtishchev, and Ermolov. Nicholas, and his chief administrators in the region,

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<sup>1</sup> The annotations form an integral part of each document cited in the commentary.

<sup>2</sup> The terms have been used in A. L. H. Rhineland, "Russia's Imperial Policy: The Administration of the Caucasus in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XVII (2-3, 1975), 218-235.

Paskevich, Hahn, Golovin', and Neidgardt (with the exception of Rosen), complained about the "hybrid" administration in Transcaucasia, and can be seen as advocates of centralization. Nicholas, in fact, tried to eradicate all local customs and laws by an 1840 edict that required that all administrative positions in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia be filled by Russians and that the Russian language be used in every administrative function.<sup>1</sup>

When this system proved unworkable, Nicholas asked Vorontsov to take over as viceroy (*namestnik*) of the Caucasus in 1845. Vorontsov, who believed that unity was not the same as uniformity, managed in nine years' time to bring the region into the Russian framework. Armenians and Georgians were encouraged to attend Russian schools and join the local administration, where a number of them achieved high positions. Socioeconomic conditions in Transcaucasia improved greatly and, by the second half of the century, the Armenians had become the undisputed economic leaders of the region. The antagonism and rivalry between Armenians and Georgians, and between Armenians and the Turkish population, which had started in the first half of the nineteenth century, became more pronounced, however, and would erupt into sporadic and at times violent confrontations in the twentieth century.

The reforms initiated by Vorontsov and continued by Murav'ev, Bariatinskii, and, to a lesser degree, by Michael Romanov (1863-1882)--the last viceroy of the nineteenth century--were instrumental in contributing to the rise of nationalism among the Armenians and Georgians. Russia's fear and its repression of national movements in the last quarter of the century only encouraged the rise of revolutionary ideas among the Armenians and Georgians. Severe measures on the part of Russia led to revolts among the Armenians in the years 1903-1905 and forced Nicholas II to reestablish the office of the viceroy of the Caucasus. The new viceroy, Count Vorontsov-Dashkov (1905-1915), a relative of the first viceroy, succeeded, to some extent, in discrediting the revolutionaries by restoring the prerogatives of the Armenian Church and by promising the liberation of Turkish Arme-

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<sup>1</sup> AKAK, IX (doc. 33), 29-35.

nia. From then on, until the Russian revolution, the Armenians in Transcaucasia cooperated fully with the imperial administration.<sup>1</sup>

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The majority of the Russian documents relating to the Armenians of Transcaucasia translated here are from 1797 to 1837. Only approximately eighty documents dealing with the 1837 to 1889 period are included in this study.<sup>2</sup> The primary reason for this uneven distribution was a shift in Russia's focus on the Armenians. Following the Second Russo-Persian War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829, Paskevich, having secured Transcaucasia, viewed the region as a colony and wished to Russianize the land and its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> The angry reaction of the local population to Paskevich's attempts at increased centralization brought in Rosen, who was in favor of regionalism.<sup>4</sup> The centralists, led by Hahn, continued to challenge Rosen and by 1837 they had not only succeeded in limiting the autonomy of the Armenian Church through the *Polozhenie* (see below), but had managed to replace Rosen with Golovin'. Armenian secular and religious leaders who had favored local autonomy were replaced with those who were ready to adopt Russian names and traditions.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the Armenians, unlike the Georgians and Muslims, were not concentrated in specific provinces, but were scattered all over Transcaucasia. Their numbers were fewer than those of the Muslims and, except for their Church, they had no effective leadership. Furthermore, the Armenians had served their purpose by assisting the Russian advance into Transcaucasia and although economically useful, they were no longer of political importance. During the viceroyalty of Vorontsov and in the period of the Crimean War, Armenians once again appear in various documents. The bulk of the published material, however, concentrates on the conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan. Finally, although the political activities of the Armenians between 1862 and 1889 were of

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918* (Berkeley, 1969), 11-23, 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> All of them are from *AKAK*, vols. IX-XII.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, VII (docs. 10, 35, 38-39, 45, 49, 64), 4-5, 18-20, 22-23, 30-31, 41, 53-55.

<sup>4</sup> *AKAK*, VIII (doc. 17), 37-43, details Rosen's advocacy of regionalism.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 294, 329.

major concern to the Russian administration, the published documents available at the present time, focus on the pre-1862 period.

The present commentary examines a number of select topics: Russia and the Armenian Church; the *Polozhenie*; Russia and the meliks of Karabagh; the Armenians and the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia; the Russian view of the Armenians and Armenian attitudes toward Russia; the Armenians and the Russian administrative divisions of Transcaucasia; the Armenians and Russian demographic surveys of Transcaucasia; and the Armenians and the economic development of Transcaucasia.

### *Russia and the Armenian Church*

An overwhelming number of the documents in this study involve the Armenian Church in one way or another. The absence of a political leadership, as well as the Ottoman and Persian practice of grouping their non-Muslim subjects into communities administered by their religious leaders, left the Armenian Church as the main representative of its people. The supreme head of the Church, the catholicos, elected by religious and lay members of the Armenian communities in Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and India was at times even referred to by Muslim rulers as the "caliph" of the Armenians.

During the seventeenth century, Safavid protection and the wealth of the Armenian merchant class in New Julfa, as well as the inclusion of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin within the Persian realm, gave Armenian religious and lay leaders in Persia and Transcaucasia the opportunity to have a major voice in the election of the catholicos. The collapse of the Safavids put an end to the Persian Armenian influence. Following the Ottoman invasion of eastern Armenia in 1723-1724, Catholicos Astuatsatur (1715-1725) and most of the brotherhood of the Holy See fled the war-torn region. The death of Peter the Great and the Russian withdrawal from Transcaucasia, the Ottoman conquest of eastern Georgia and most of eastern Armenia, the inability of the Persians to defend the region, and the death of Astuatsatur, forced the Etchmiadzin hierarchy to rely on the Armenians of Constantinople, whose religious and lay leaders began to assume a major role in the election of the catholicos. The Ottoman sultans not only confirmed the choice of their Armenian subjects with official decrees, but main-

tained the tax-exempt status and special privileges of Etchmiadzin by upholding the various edicts and deeds granted to it by the Safavids. Although in 1735 the Persians regained their suzerainty over Transcaucasia and restored the borders of the Safavid empire, the lack of an enduring Persian dynasty enabled both the Armenians of Constantinople and the Sublime Porte to maintain their influence over the election of the catholicos throughout the eighteenth century.

At the end of that century, Russia not only began to make overtures to the leadership of the Armenian Church but adopted the Muslim stance of viewing the catholicos, the prelate of the Armenians in Russia, and the Armenian patriarch in Constantinople as the leaders of the Armenian people.<sup>1</sup> From then on, Russia tried to use its influence to elect a pro-Russian catholicos and acted as the protector of the Holy See.<sup>2</sup> There were several reasons for this. Some Russian officials had a special sympathy, as well as respect, for the suffering of the Armenians due to their steadfast attachment to Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Others planned to use Russia's role as protectors of the Armenians to gain additional political influence in Transcaucasia,<sup>4</sup> Persia, and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Yet others saw Etchmiadzin as the transmitter of Russian influence among the Armenians in Persia,<sup>6</sup> India,<sup>7</sup> and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>8</sup> Russia's position as the protector of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which it considered had been granted to it by the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, could, some felt, now extend to the Ar-

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 1-3, 7, 221-222, 325. For the special deference paid by Muslim leaders toward the Armenian Church, see documents 55-56, 195, 202-203, 208, 258-264, 266-272. The Georgian leaders acknowledged the power of the Armenian Church as well, see documents, 9-10, 15, 19, 63.

<sup>2</sup> See documents 18, 23-25, 27-28, 30, 34, 36, 40, 42-44, 46-47, 53-54, 57-62, 66, 68-73, 76-82, 84, 86-87, 89, 92-93, 96, 103, 108, 111, 115, 121-122, 124, 129, 136, 150, 164, 176, 179, 181-182, 191-192, 195, 204-206, 208, 212-213, 218-219, 224, 227, 232, 234, 244-249, 254, 314-317, 319-321, 324, 328, 331, 333-334, 336-341, 343-344, 347, 361, 365, 377-382, 385-386, 389-390, 393, 398, 404-405, 407, 410-411, 413.

<sup>3</sup> See document 4.

<sup>4</sup> Russian officials even made use of Armenian holy relics, see documents 122 and 124.

<sup>5</sup> See document 95.

<sup>6</sup> See document 415.

<sup>7</sup> See document 153; *SAAN*, II, 225-227.

<sup>8</sup> See document 345.

menians in Anatolia. As far as the Armenians in Persian-held Transcaucasia were concerned, Russia, prior to 1828, cited its historic relations with the Armenian Church and the Church leaders' requests for aid as justification for its actions. After 1828, Russia claimed that the Treaty of Turkmanchay gave it special prerogatives as the protector of the Armenians in Persia.

Following 1828, when Etchmiadzin became part of Russia, St. Petersburg forced the Turks and the Persians to accept the fact that all future catholicoi had to be approved by Russia.<sup>1</sup> The *Polozhenie* of 1836 informed everyone, including the Armenians, that Russia planned to have some control over Etchmiadzin.<sup>2</sup> Armenian catholicoi accepted Russia's role and conditions but in exchange demanded that Russia aid them in their struggle against insubordination within the Church hierarchy in Transcaucasia and Russia,<sup>3</sup> assist them in the collection of dues,<sup>4</sup> and help them to extend their influence over the Armenian Church hierarchy in Persia and the Ottoman Empire--that is, the dioceses in Azerbaijan and New Julfa, the catholicosate of Van, the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and especially the patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the catholicos at Etchmiadzin expected Russia to ban the activities of Catholic and Protestant missionaries among the Armenians in Transcaucasia and even to pressure the Ottomans and the Persians to do likewise.<sup>6</sup> It can be argued, therefore, that the

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<sup>1</sup> The Turkish government, as well as the leaders of the Armenian Church in Turkey, did not always accept this notion; see documents 345, 358, 368, 370, 387.

<sup>2</sup> In fact a year later (1837) Tsar Nicholas visited western Transcaucasia and made a point of stopping at Etchmiadzin. A document explains the ten-step protocol to be followed, which among other things required that the Catholicos Hovhannēs and the Synod meet the tsar a *verst* from the monastery, disembark from their carriages, and approach him on foot. Following elaborate ceremonies in Etchmiadzin, the catholicos accompanied the tsar to the Church of St. Hripsime before bidding him farewell, *SAAN*, III, 416-419. For reports in Russian newspapers, including one from *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, see *ibid.*, 419-425. On his return the tsar, by a decree of 11 November written in Moscow, decorated Catholicos Hovhannēs with the order of St. Vladimir, first class, *ibid.*, 426-427.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 187, 197.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 113, 148, 186, 269.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 345, 358, 368, 370, 387.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 332, 349, 264, 373-375, 406, 409, 414, 417-419. Russia, however, refused to stop the activities of Russian Orthodox clergy among the Armenians; see document 240.

Russians inadvertently increased the power of the catholicos at Etchmiadzin by terminating the catholicosate of Aghuank', by advancing Etchmiadzin's demands in Persia and the Ottoman Empire,<sup>1</sup> and by including it in the administrative apparatus of the Armenian province.<sup>2</sup> A strong catholicos could, therefore, challenge Russia and, at times, even force it to change its repressive measures against the Church and against Armenian political resurgence, as demonstrated in the 1903-1905 crisis.

### *The Polozhenie*

Much has been written on the *Polozhenie* of 1836; this was the statute that defined the relationship between the Russian government and the Armenian Church, up until the Russian revolution. Some historians view it as a set of restrictions imposed by Russia to limit the absolute power of the catholicos at Etchmiadzin and to place the Armenian Church under the virtual control of the central government. Other historians view it more benignly, as a document that not only officially recognized the autonomy of the Armenian Church and gave the Armenians full freedom of worship but permitted Church control over Armenian schools and other institutions.<sup>3</sup> The documentary evidence presents a middle view. On the one hand, it clearly shows that although Tsar Nicholas and most of his advisors wished to restrain the independence of the Armenian Church, the Russians felt that the constant arguments and accusations among the Church hierarchy gave them sufficient justification to introduce the regulations. On the other hand, although the cooperation of Catholicos Hovhannēs enabled Russia to enact the *Polozhenie* without much resistance, subsequent catholicos, did not always adhere to the regulation and, at times, defied it completely.

A document dated 24 February 1801 clearly demonstrated that Russia, from the very beginning of its involvement in Transcaucasia, attempted to inform itself about the workings of the Armenian

<sup>1</sup> See documents 52, 110, 144, 149, 157, 168, 215, 223, 225, 255, 280.

<sup>2</sup> See documents 301-301, 307.

<sup>3</sup> Maksoudian, in his work *Chosen of God*, endorses the former interpretation, while Suny, in his study *Looking toward Ararat*, embraces the latter view.

Church.<sup>1</sup> Once Etchmiadzin was firmly in Russian hands, the central administration began to look into the reported financial and administrative irregularities at Etchmiadzin.<sup>2</sup> A confidential communication dated 27 July 1833, even questioned the legality of proclaiming the name of the tsar and his family after those of the catholicos and the rest of the Armenian religious hierarchy during the mass at Etchmiadzin.<sup>3</sup>

The *Polozhenie*, translated here into English from the original and in its entirety for the first time,<sup>4</sup> clearly indicates several important points. The Armenian religious hierarchy was consulted in the preparation of the *Polozhenie*;<sup>5</sup> moreover, Russia took into account the traditional and administrative formalities of the Armenian Church in preparing the document.<sup>6</sup> Russia was generally convinced that the financial, administrative, and electoral difficulties experienced by Etchmiadzin between 1801-1807 and 1822-1829 mandated certain reforms. The selfish, ambitious, worldly, and unchurchmanlike behavior of a large number of Armenian clerics, as well as the influence of laymen had, they felt, to be curtailed.<sup>7</sup> The Russians succeeded in curbing the influence of Ottoman and Persian Armenians, as well as that of the Turkish and Persian governments, in the affairs of Etchmiadzin.<sup>8</sup> The *Polozhenie* did unquestionably place certain restrictions

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<sup>1</sup> See document 41.

<sup>2</sup> See documents 355-356.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the tsar and the entire imperial family was mentioned before all others in the Russian Orthodox liturgy, see document 353.

<sup>4</sup> See document 363.

<sup>5</sup> See preamble to the *Polozhenie*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See documents 43, 324, 355-356 and chapter two of the *Polozhenie*. The behavior of Dawit' and his supporters in the 1801-1808 period and other scandals detailed in this study diminished the respect of the Russians for the Armenian Church; see MAAC, Archives of the Catholicosate (1803), file 14, doc. 62a, file 15 (1804), docs. 18, 22-24, 28, file 19 (1808), doc. 83.

<sup>8</sup> The Turks pressured the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople to distance himself and his community from Etchmiadzin, see documents 345, 358, 368, 370, 387. Documents in the archives of the Armenian Church in New Julfa, Iran, indicated that Fath 'Alī Shah, in 1248 A. H. (1832), and Moḥammad Shah, in 1260 *Hijri* (1844), addressed the senior cleric of the Armenian Church in Persia as the caliph of the Armenians, a title previously used only to address the catholicos at Etchmiadzin; see G.



on the autonomy of the Church and officially gave Russia a major and unquestioned voice in the election of the catholicos; moreover, the Synod was now given power to balance that of the catholicos, and Russia maintained a role in the appointment of the candidates for the Synod.<sup>1</sup> The Russian procurator at Etchmiadzin served as a day-to-day informer and submitted reports to the chief Russian administrator in Transcaucasia and to the central government in St. Petersburg.<sup>2</sup> The Russians thus both regulated and interfered in the affairs of the Armenian Church far more than the Muslims had ever done.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, the power of the procurator over the catholicos was limited<sup>4</sup> and the provisions of the *Polozhenie* were, at times, totally ignored by the catholicos, who proceeded to act independently, despite numerous protests from Russian officials.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, references to the Armenians as a distinct group ("People of Hayk") and their Church as a separate entity ("The Armenian-Gregorian Church") in the *Polozhenie* underscores the fact that the Armenian Church was able to maintain its religious autonomy<sup>6</sup> and not be absorbed or dominated by the Russian Orthodox Church, a fate which befell the Georgian Church.

### *Russia and the Meliks of Karabagh*

When the Safavids took control of eastern Armenia, they came in contact with a number of small principalities in Karabagh that were ruled by local Armenian mountain chiefs, or meliks. Realizing the difficulty of penetrating these mountain fortresses, the Safavids, like the Turkish and Mongol rulers before them, granted the meliks an autonomous status. The five districts of mountainous Karabagh were

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Bournoutian, "Armenians in Nineteenth-Century Iran," in *Armenians of Iran*, K. Chaqueri, ed. (Harvard, 1977), p. 56, n. 7.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter three of the *Polozhenie*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; also see documents 379, 396-397.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 397-398.

<sup>4</sup> See document 402. Catholicoi Nersēs, Matt'ēos, and Mkrtich' of Van (Khrimian) repeatedly challenged the *Polozhenie*. The Russians also ignored its provisions in 1885-1886 and during the period between 1896 and 1905 by closing Armenian schools and confiscating Church properties.

<sup>5</sup> See document 396.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter one of the *Polozhenie*.

Gulistan, Jraber, Varanda, Khachen, and Dizak, and they were ruled by the Beglarian, Israyēlean, Shahnazarian, Hasan Jalalean (Jalaleants'), and Avanean clans respectively. Several prominent meliks lived in Siwnik-Zangezur as well (see map 3). The region also possessed its own religious centers in Tat'ew, Gladzor, and Amaras, and there was a catholicosate at Gandzasar. The meliks of Karabagh were among the early pioneers of the Armenian emancipatory movement. At the start of the eighteenth century they made contacts with Peter the Great and prepared to assist the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia. The meliks paid a heavy toll when Peter abandoned them to the Ottomans, and it was half a century before they ventured to renew their contacts with Russia. The benevolence of Catherine the Great toward the Armenians in Russia and the promises from her emissaries convinced the meliks to commit themselves to aiding the next Russian attempt to conquer Transcaucasia.<sup>1</sup>

The pro-Russian activities of the meliks earned them the wrath of Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi. Some were killed, others imprisoned, and yet others escaped to Erevan, Ganja, and Georgia. The Russian administration viewed the meliks as nobles with feudal rights over their lands and subjects.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when Paul withdrew the Russian troops, those meliks, who had paid dearly for their loyalty to Russia, were granted lands, shelter, and subsidies.<sup>3</sup> The tsar encouraged them to settle on the southern borders of Georgia. The Russians encouraged other Armenian leaders and clan elders to move from Erevan, Ganja, and Karabagh and to settle in Georgia. The plan was to create a formidable and loyal Christian cluster to defend Georgia against attacks from Erevan, Ganja, Kars, and Daghestan.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For details see G. Bournoutian, "Eastern Armenia from the Seventeenth Century to the Russian Annexation," in *The Armenian People*, II, Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York, 1997), 81-93.

<sup>2</sup> See document 13. Paul corresponded with the meliks, viewed them as nobles, and decorated them; see *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3 (1797-1799), file, 464, ff. 324-326, 339.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 4-6, 11-12, 14, 16-17, 26, 37, 52, 132-133.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 21-22, 29, 31-32.

The meliks soon received the same privileges as the Georgian nobles. They swore oaths of allegiance,<sup>1</sup> were included among the ranks of Russian nobility, and were given the right to possess serfs. Serfdom, which did not exist as an institution in Transcaucasia prior to Russian rule,<sup>2</sup> now appeared in a few districts.<sup>3</sup> Although the Muslims had large numbers of landless peasants (*ranjbars*), most Armenian peasants had belonged to clans that farmed individual villages. Some meliks, despite protests from their Armenian subjects, took advantage of the situation and now insisted that as Russian nobles they had total control over the movement of their peasants.<sup>4</sup> A number of meliks even began to make inroads into Persian and Ottoman border regions to convince Armenian peasants to join them in Georgia.<sup>5</sup> The success of the meliks prompted Armenian nobles from other regions, as well as wealthy merchants, to be accepted into the ranks of nobility.<sup>6</sup>

The meliks did prove valuable to the Russians. They and their subjects fought at the side of the Russian forces and performed especially well during the battles against the Persians in Karabagh in 1805.<sup>7</sup> The meliks constantly reminded every new administrator in chief of their services to Russia and asked for special privileges.<sup>8</sup> Although their wishes were not always granted,<sup>9</sup> they did benefit greatly from the Russian conquest.

As in the past, the meliks did not act together. Each looked toward his own interest, and squabbles among the meliks were frequent.<sup>10</sup> The privileges they had gained frightened the last khan of Karabagh and, in wishing to ally himself with a powerful melik, he returned the do-

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<sup>1</sup> *AVPR*, Russian Relations with Armenia, record group 100/3 (1797-1799), file 464, f. 340.

<sup>2</sup> J. Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia* (Princeton, 1971), p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> An imperial decree issued in 1839, however, forbade landlords to import serfs from Russia and to sell the bondsmen they already owned, *ibid.*, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> See document 51, 67, 91, 233, 235. In 1817 Prince Madatov moved 240 Armenian families, who had left Karabagh in the 1790s and had settled in Sheki, back to Karabagh, see document 229.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 49-50.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 220, 236.

<sup>7</sup> See documents 107, 128, 140.

<sup>8</sup> See documents 160, 162, 170, 201, 210.

<sup>9</sup> See document 242.

<sup>10</sup> See documents 173, 175, 199, 251, 265.

mains of one such melik, Prince Madatov.<sup>1</sup> By the second half of the nineteenth century, many meliks had joined the Russian civilian administration or the Russian army, where they rose to high ranks.<sup>2</sup>

*Armenians and the Russian Conquest of Transcaucasia*

On 18 November 1796, a day after the death of Catherine, Paul, unsure whether to continue the war with Persia, halted the Transcaucasian campaign. By spring of the following year he had recalled most of the Russian troops. The reaction from the Armenian (and Georgian) leaders, both in Transcaucasia and Russia, was immediate and overwhelming. Numerous petitions were sent to the commander of the Caucasian Line, the chancellor of Russia, the head of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, as well as the tsar himself, clearly indicating the distress of the Armenians concerning the Russian withdrawal.<sup>3</sup>

Events in Europe also propelled the tsar to reconsider Russia's role in Transcaucasia. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who ruled Malta, had made the tsar the protector of their order. After Napoleon's occupation of the island in June 1798, they appealed to Paul for aid (a group of them even named him Grand Master of the order). Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in July of that year and French overtures to the Georgians and to the Persians<sup>4</sup> prompted the tsar to action.

In August 1798, Paul gave in to pressure and reexamined the Russian commitment to Georgia. The Persians and the Ottomans were warned against any incursions into the region and two Russian battalions arrived in the newly rebuilt Tiflis. The threats from Persia continued, however.<sup>5</sup> By September of 1799, the Georgian king, Giorgi, ill and suspicious of most members of his royal house, realized that Russian aid was essential for the survival of his state. He appealed to Paul to accept personal authority over his kingdom, at the same time begging the tsar to respect the traditions and the dynastic prerogatives of

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<sup>1</sup> See document 226, 230-231.

<sup>2</sup> The best example is Count Loris Melikov, who served as a chief minister to Alexander II.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 1, 2, 3, 5.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 15, 39.

<sup>5</sup> See document 8.

his house.<sup>1</sup> In November of 1799, Paul's special envoy, Kovalenskii, and Major-General Lazarev, in command of a Jäger regiment, arrived in Tiflis, and Russia reaffirmed its formal protection of eastern Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

On 18 December 1800, Paul signed the manifesto by which eastern Georgia became subordinate to the Russian crown.<sup>3</sup> Not everyone in Georgia accepted the Russian presence, however. Prince Alexander, the younger brother of Giorgi, soon fled to Persia, where he intrigued against the Russians. The widow and sons of Giorgi also opposed the Russians. Although a number of the tsar's advisors felt that the Georgian royal house should remain as the nominal head of its people, the murder of Paul ended that debate. Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825), after some hesitation, formally annexed eastern Georgia on 12 September 1801, and ended the authority of its royal family. The Armenians were especially happy about the arrival of the Russian troops, as their leaders were told that autonomous districts, under Russian protection, would be established for them within eastern Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

For the next three decades, Armenians in Transcaucasia were pro-Russian and hoped for the Russian takeover of the historic Armenian homeland.<sup>5</sup> A small percentage of Armenian nobles, churchmen, merchants, and peasants openly or secretly assisted the Russian conquest

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<sup>1</sup> *GRAM*, II (pt. 2), 287.

<sup>2</sup> Kovalenskii and Lazarev did not get along, *AKAK*, I (doc. 8), 100. Kovalenskii made himself unpopular with the Georgian aristocracy and was recalled on 3 August 1800, *AKAK*, I (doc. 30), 109.

<sup>3</sup> The decree was published in St. Petersburg on 18 January 1801 and made public in Tiflis on 16 February 1801. The original text is in *TSGIA*, Census Record Group (1/1830), ff. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 21, 40.

<sup>5</sup> The Armenians of Erevan were the least active. The reason was that the two important governors of Erevan, Moḥammad Khan and Ḥoseyn-qolī Khan, generally favored the Armenians and tried to defend them against extortion by local officials. Lazarev and Kovalenskii both felt that the Armenians of Erevan were unreliable, *AKAK*, I (doc. 35), 124-125. Tsitsianov was especially angry at the "Armenian traitors of Erevan," see documents 93, 135. When Gudovich attacked Erevan, his initial proclamation to the citizens (4 October, 1808) did not address the Armenians. His difficulty in taking the fortress forced him to request Armenian support on 12 November, see *AKAK*, III, (docs. 443-444), 237-238.

of Transcaucasia or acted as go-betweens.<sup>1</sup> Reports from Armenian informants in Transcaucasia, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire are a good indication of such activities.<sup>2</sup> Russian military leaders assured the Armenians of Ganja, Karabagh, Erevan, Nukha, Shemakha, and Baku that by swearing allegiance to the tsar, they would be protected from the Muslims and would receive preferential treatment from Russia.<sup>3</sup> A number of Armenian meliks from Karabagh not only fought on the side of Russia during the Russo-Persian wars, but contributed troops and were rewarded by receiving military ranks and decorations.<sup>4</sup> Some of the meliks were permitted to return to their ancestral domains in Karabagh. One churchman, Nersēs of Ashtarak, was especially active in rallying the Armenians of Transcaucasia to support Russia and was instrumental in recruiting Armenian volunteers during the Second Russo-Persian War.<sup>5</sup> Although Nersēs presented the Armenian role as crucial, in fact the Armenian military contribution was limited to the battles around Etchmiadzin, Oshakan, Shushi, and Ganja.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Persian chroniclers indicate that the Armenians acted as scouts during Tsitsianov's attack on Ganja, while the Armenians in the citadel betrayed Jāvād Khan and went over to the Russians, *Nāseḵ al-Tavāriḵ*, I, (Tehran, 1344/1965), 125.; the Armenian Archbishop Hovhannēs of Tiflis was instrumental in sending Russian messages to the Kurdish leader Ḥoseyn Āqā, *ibid.*, (doc. 449), 241; Armenian clerics acted as messengers between Rtishchev, Ḥoseyn-qolī Khan of Erevan, and 'Abbās Mīrẓā during the negotiations in 1812, *AKAK*, V (docs. 648-653), 546-549; *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 15, doc. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See documents 39, 64, 75, 85, 86, 89, 126, 132, 133, 138, 143, 146, 147; *AKAK*, II (doc 1680), 814; III, (docs. 420, 424, 426-427, 436, 470-471), 230, 232-233, 236, 266-267. The Armenians, at times, took considerable risks in providing information to the Russians; see document 318. Following the Crimean War, a number of Armenians in Erzerum were accused of passing information to Russia. They were arrested and three were hung, see *AKAK*, XI, (docs. 225, 232), 257, 264.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 98, 100, 121, 123.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 142, 152, 156, 284, 296. In reports to Tsar Nicholas, Ermolov stated that the Armenians of Georgia and Karabagh were loyal and were willing to fight the Muslims for Russia, *AKAK*, VI/2 (docs. 675, 678, 703), 372, 374, 387.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 275, 280, 283, 285, 287, 295.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 128, 142, 152, 156, 275-277, 280-281, 284-289.

Many Armenian volunteers participated and were decorated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829.<sup>1</sup> A small number even served in Daghestan. In 1854 Vorontsov issued a proclamation to the Armenians and Georgians to join the Russian army during the Crimean War. Nersēs, now a catholicos, asked the Armenians to volunteer and was instrumental in collecting funds for the war effort.<sup>2</sup> Numerous Armenian volunteers and officers also fought in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.<sup>3</sup>

### *Russian Views of the Armenians/Armenian Attitudes Toward Russia*

The Russian administration in Moscow and St. Petersburg viewed the Armenians as defenseless Christians who were oppressed by Muslims and who longed for Russian protection. It generally favored the Armenians and gave them preferential treatment. The Russians viewed the Armenians as responsible for strengthening the Christian faith in the region and not only acting as a deterrent to the domination of Transcaucasia by Persia or the Ottoman Empire,<sup>4</sup> but defending Georgia and assisting the Russian administrative and military personnel in their struggle against the Muslims of Transcaucasia and the mountaineers of Daghestan.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/1, file 119, ff. 77-78, 83; record group 548/2, file 519 ff. 17, 20 and file 825, ff. 27, 62; *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 17358, ff. 3, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *AKAK*, IX (doc 685), 813; X (doc. 747, 749, 764), 794, 796, 814; *TSGVIA*, record group VUA, file 4644, f. 204; *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 548/1 file 119, ff. 77, 83 and 548/2, file 825, f. 62; *TSGA-Arm*, record group 57, file 159, ff. 21-22; *MAAC* Archives of the Catholicosate, file 157, doc. 314; file 171, doc. 316; file 176, doc. 259, file 181, doc. 165. Armenians of New Nakhichevan, Astrakhan, Talin, Shemakha, Baku, Kuba, and Derbent collected funds for the besieged Sevastopol', see *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 176, doc. 325; file 181, docs. 214, 752; file 183, doc. 453.

<sup>3</sup> *TSGA-Arm*, record group 56, file 24, ff. 23-24; record group 57, file 309, f. 10; *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 230, docs. 325, 331, 336.

<sup>4</sup> Armenians were frequently included in the local administration even when they formed only a small minority, as in Baku, see *AKAK*, V (doc. 204), 139.

<sup>5</sup> A Russian source has the following: *The Armenian meliks, Jamshid and Fireydun, who were in St. Petersburg, and other meliks in Georgia and Persia, together with their followers, hastened to ask the protection of Tsar Paul. Their requests were favorably received and they were given lands [bordering Muslim territories] by the Georgian king where they and their dependents settled. His Majesty wished that*

Tsar Alexander I clearly wished to gain the goodwill of his Armenian subjects. In 1801 he instructed his officials to reverse his own policy by abandoning Archbishop Dawit', the Russian candidate for the office of catholicos. He switched his support to Archbishop Daniël, a candidate from Turkey, who was the choice of the majority of Armenians.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas I, not trusting Armenian national sentiment, sought to check and control it by removing Nersēs of Ashtarak,<sup>2</sup> by appointing Russianized Armenians like Bebutov, Larazev, and Argutinskii-Dolgorukii to serve in Transcaucasia, and by establishing the *Polozhenie* for the Armenian Church. Armenian publications were also subject to censorship.<sup>3</sup>

The reign of Alexander II and the reforms initiated during his reign opened new opportunities for Armenian merchants, artisans, and intellectuals and was responsible for the formation of a solid patriotic Armenian intelligentsia in the 1870s. Although the activities of Armenian patriotic organizations in Transcaucasia were suspect and most of their leaders were arrested or put under surveillance, Russian officials proved extremely lenient.<sup>4</sup> Russian conflict with the Ottomans, which began in 1875 and escalated into war in 1877, was primarily responsible for this attitude. Not only did Armenian volunteers serve in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, but the Armenians of Turkish Armenia were influenced by the pro-Russian feelings of their fellow Armenians in Russia.<sup>5</sup>

The situation changed drastically between 1879 and 1889. The failure to implement article 61 of the Berlin treaty<sup>6</sup> enraged the Armenian social and political activists in Transcaucasia and Turkey.

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*such new Christian settlements be established in Georgia as much as possible to benefit that country. He ordered Kovalenskii to ask the Georgian king to give the Armenians good land and to fulfill all the possible needs of their meliks. The Armenian communities would not be subject to Georgia, they would not be vassals and would receive part of the cost of the expenses of defending their domains [against the Muslims],* P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza*, II (St. Petersburg, 1869), 450.

<sup>1</sup> See document 57.

<sup>2</sup> See documents 314, 316, 319, 324.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 404-405.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 428-431.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 433-437, 439.

<sup>6</sup> See document 440.



They felt that they had been betrayed by Europe and Russia. They first formed secret armed societies (such as *The Protectors of the Fatherland*, formed in 1881 in Erzerum)<sup>1</sup> and soon established revolutionary political parties, with patriotic, socialist, or nationalist platforms.<sup>2</sup> The reaction of the Russian central administration, especially during the reign of Alexander III (1881-1894), was severe. Surveillance and arrest of Armenian intellectuals and political activists in Transcaucasia became common, and censorship reached new heights. In 1885 all Armenian schools were closed and were replaced by Russian schools. When the Armenians began to organize underground classrooms and libraries, the government reopened the schools, but replaced many of the teachers, and Russified the curriculum.<sup>3</sup>

The Russian military and civilian hierarchy in Transcaucasia was divided in their opinion of the Armenians. Some viewed them as a hard-working and loyal group, whose Christianity and pro-Russian sympathies should be rewarded and whose larger problems had to be addressed.<sup>4</sup> They were concerned about the earthquakes and the damage they inflicted on the population,<sup>5</sup> and, about deforestation of the northern districts of the Armenian province<sup>6</sup> and they were instrumental in establishing the first weather station in eastern Armenia.<sup>7</sup> Others saw the Armenians as cowards. While Georgians were viewed as a noble, brave, and chivalrous race, and the Muslims as manly but backward, Armenians were seen as a people who lacked character and were deceptive. They had no real country but moved to any secure re-

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<sup>1</sup> A number of self-protection societies had sprung up earlier in Turkish Armenia (such as *Union of Salvation* in 1872 and *The Black Cross Society* in 1878).

<sup>2</sup> The *Armenakan* Party formed in Van in 1885, The *Armenian Social Democratic Revolutionary Party (Hinchak)* formed in Geneva in 1887, and the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak)* was founded in 1890 in Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 442-446, 450.

<sup>4</sup> The Russian poet Griboedov was a major supporter of the Armenians; see A. S. Griboedov, *Sochineniia*, II (Moscow, 1971), 276-290, 339-341. See also the articles of the Decembrist E. Lachinov in *Northern Bee* (1828) and *Tiflis Gazette* (1829); and the diary of D. V. Davydov in *TSGVIA*, record group 194, file 33, ff. 7-12, 22-23, 30-31, 35, ff. 121-122; file 35, ff. 9, 17, 30, 121-122.

<sup>5</sup> See document 371.

<sup>6</sup> See document 359.

<sup>7</sup> See document 416.

gion where they could resume their buying and selling.<sup>1</sup> Profit and self-interest were seen as the only things on their minds.<sup>2</sup> In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Russian officials in Transcaucasia added a new view of their Armenian subjects--that of political agitators and even dangerous revolutionaries.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Armenians and the Georgians together formed a Christian majority in Transcaucasia, Georgian antagonism divided the two. The Muslims, who were grouped together by the Russians as Turks, Muslims, or Tatars (the Russian term for the Turkic population), were thus viewed as having numerical superiority. Russians complained that Armenian demands did not take into account the delicate situation of the Caucasian administration vis-à-vis the Muslim "majority." The Russians came to understand that the Armenians, as well as the Georgians, did not function as a united group with common goals, but rather as separate units, each with their own interests, working sometimes with, and sometimes against, one other.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> A British report written in 1876 also described the Armenians as the Jews of the Caucasus, who, as traders, were found in every town, A. Burdett, ed. *Caucasian Boundaries: Documents and maps, 1802-1946* (London, 1996), p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Obrozenie rossiiskikh vladenii na Kavkaze* (St. Petersburg, 1836), pp. 197-199, cited in *ibid.* p. 118. Although Tsitsianov disliked the Armenians (see documents 93, 99, 123, 135, 137, 139, 152 and D. Bakradze and N. Berzenov, *Tiflis v istoricheskom i etnograficheskom otnosheniiakh* (St. Petersburg, 1879), pp. 101-102), his dislike for the Muslims was even greater. He humiliated them with threats and imposed impossible conditions of surrender, see *AKAK*, II (doc. 1179), 591.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 443, 448, 450.

<sup>4</sup> The Muslim khans, who possessed large properties and who had governed autonomously for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, were especially vulnerable to Russian and Ottoman overtures. Although the Russians managed to befriend Moḥammad Khan of Erevan and Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan, the Russian preference for the Georgian claims worried both of these khans and made them hesitate to open their doors to the Russians. Their correspondence with the Russians, however, did not go unnoticed and both were arrested and sent to Persia, *AKAK*, III (doc. 476), 267 and documents 132-133, 146. The Turks, until 1806, hoped to play an active role in the affairs of Transcaucasia and corresponded with the various khans. For example, in 1209 A.H. (1794), Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh wrote to Sultan Selim III, informing him of Āḡā Moḥammad Khan's move on Karabagh and Erevan and asking the Turks to help him and Moḥammad Khan of Erevan to keep their autonomy as vassals of the Ottomans, *BAOE*, I (doc. 1), 2. Another letter from Ebrāhīm Khan to Selim III mentioned the negotiations of the various khans of Transcaucasia (Fath 'Alī Khan of Kuba, Moḥammad Ḥasan Khan of Sheki, Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, and himself)

Russians soon began to take advantage of ethnic and religious divisions among local Christians and Muslims not only to make further gains in Transcaucasia, but to maintain their control of the region.<sup>1</sup>

Armenians saw Russia as their sole protector against their Muslim neighbors. During the eighteenth century, a number of Armenian secular leaders petitioned the tsars to place them, their subjects, and their lands under Russian protection. At the same time, Armenian notables in Russia also lobbied for their coreligionists in Transcaucasia.<sup>2</sup> Armenian meliks wished to be granted the same privilege given to the Georgian nobles, that is, inclusion in the ranks of Russian nobility. Documents indicate that they did everything in their power to convince the Russians of their noble status and of their suffering at the hands of Muslim overlords because of their loyalty to Russia.

The Armenian peasants, however, did not always welcome the Russians. Some complained about requisitions by Russian troops during the Russo-Persian wars.<sup>3</sup> Others, who gave voluntarily, were

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with King Erekle II of Georgia and with Russia, against Āgā Moḥammad Khan, *ibid.*, (doc. 2), 4-5. In 1794 Moḥammad Khan of Erevan wrote to Sultan Selim and to the grand vizier, Mehmet Pasha, seeking their aid against Persia, *ibid.*, (docs. 3-4), 7-8, 10-11. In 1796 the governor of Derbent informed Mehmet Pasha of Zubov's campaign in Transcaucasia, *ibid.* (doc. 5, 20-22), 12-13, 46-49. After 1806, when Russia had made general agreements with most khans (save for Erevan and Nakhichevan), the Ottomans ceased their correspondence with Transcaucasian khans [save with Ḥoseyn-qolī Khan of Erevan, *ibid.*, II (docs. 13-14), 52-55, and concentrated their efforts on Chechnia and Daghestan.

<sup>1</sup> This was especially evident during the Armeno-Tatar conflict of 1905-1907, see L. Villari, *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus* (London, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Armenians in Russia, notably the Lazarevs, the Melikovs, the Tumanovs, the Bebutovs, and the Akhsharumovs participated in the War of 1812-1814 against Napoleon; see *TSGIA*, record group 880, file 610, f. 610; *TSGADA*, record group 1252, file 68, ff. 4-5, 7-8; *TSGA-Arm*, record group 57, file 54, f. 84. Armenians in Astrakhan and New Nakhichevan donated funds to the war effort as well, *TSGA-Arm*, record group 54, file 638, f. 38. The Armenian Church leaders in Russia and Transcaucasia, led by their prelate, Archbishop Hovhannēs, and by Catholicos Ep'rem, encouraged their flock to support the war effort, *MAAC*, Archives of the Catholicosate, file 23, docs. 98s, 122; file 24, docs. 8, 9, 22, 39, 74; file 25, doc. 18; *TSGA-Arm*, record group 57, file 28, ff. 7, 17-18. Tsar Alexander I and the senior Russian officials admired the efforts of the Russian Armenians and paid heed to their petitions on behalf of the Armenians in Transcaucasia.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 105, 134, 277.

angry when Russia did not unquestionably support them against the Muslims. They thought that after the Russian conquest all those Muslim officials and landowners who had jurisdiction over Armenians would be deprived of their position. The Armenians of Sheki complained that they were still subject to the discriminatory tax paid by non-Muslims.<sup>1</sup> In most towns where the Armenian population was small, they and the Jews continued to live in their own quarters.<sup>2</sup> Armenians were especially disappointed when Russia not only did not heed their warnings against disloyal khans, but permitted them to return from Persia, to claim their titles and properties, to continue to act as the landlords of the Armenians, and to continue their anti-Russian activities.<sup>3</sup> Although some Muslims lost their right to administer Armenian-populated villages or wished to exchange them for ones that were solely populated by Muslims,<sup>4</sup> no significant changes in land tenure occurred until the end of the century.<sup>5</sup>

The Armenian intelligentsia, which emerged in the 1860s and which matured in the 1870s and 1880s, were disappointed when Russia not only abandoned them after the Treaty of Berlin, but monitored and curtailed their political activities in Transcaucasia and eastern Anatolia.<sup>6</sup> The Armenian upper classes, on the other hand, were more sanguine. They considered Russian ways superior and a large number of them, especially in Tiflis, the Russian administrative center of the

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 169, 185.

<sup>2</sup> In Derbent, for example, there were 239 Armenians and 444 Jews, who according to a report dated 4 August 1824, lived separately, *AKAK*, VI/2 (doc. 253), 109-110.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 376, 388. *AKAK*, V, (docs. 202-203), 134-137 describes the betrayal of Ĵa'far-qolī Khan of Karabagh.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 172, 174, 193, 239

<sup>5</sup> A document written in 1844 indicates that some 400 villages and 2,000 families still belonged to the khans and other Muslim officials in the Caspian province, *AKAK*, IX (doc. 534), 630-634. The land reform of 1861 did not alter the situation. A Russian primary source observed that "whereas in the western *gubernii*s of European Russia and in Poland, the government had shown unusual favors to the peasants, here in Transcaucasia all its mercies were extended to the landlords," cited in G. T. Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime* (Berkeley, 1962), p. 86. The Statute of 16 May 1867 did not change the conditions, state peasants in Transcaucasia continued to pay dues to the treasury, *ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 438, 440, 447, 449.

Caucasus and Transcaucasia, adopted Russian names, language, and culture.<sup>1</sup>

*Armenians and the Russian Administrative Divisions of Transcaucasia*

The Russian conquest of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia was gradual. The administrative divisions of the region, therefore, went through a number of changes. The *Akty*<sup>2</sup> and the maps collected or prepared for the British government and stored at the Public Records Office in Kew, Surrey,<sup>3</sup> present a rather accurate picture of the borders and administrative divisions of Transcaucasia in the nineteenth century.

Between 1806 and 1827 the Russians viewed Transcaucasia as four distinct zones: 1) Eastern Georgia, which was composed of the kingdom of K'art'li-Kakhet'i, the khanate of Ganja, Jaro-Belakan, Kazakh, Borchalu, Shamshadil, Shuragol, and Pambak; 2) Western Georgia, which included Imeret'i, Mingrelia, and Guria; 3) The Muslim provinces, or the khanates of Sheki, Shirvan, Karabagh, Baku, and Talesh, and the district of Elisū (Ilisū) [the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan were viewed as part of this zone]; 4) Daghestan, which was divided into the khanates of Kuba and Derbent, the districts of Akusha (Aqūsha), Kazi-Kumuk (Ghāzī-Ghumuq), Kara-Kaitak (Qarā-Qaytāq), Tabasaran (Tabarsaran), and Tarku (Targhu) (see map 4).

From 1828 to 1840 the administrative divisions were reorganized into: 1) Western Transcaucasia, which was composed of eastern and western Georgia; 2) Eastern Transcaucasia, which included the khanates of Sheki, Shirvan, Karabagh, and Talesh, and the districts of Jaro-Belakan and Elisū; 3) The Armenian province, formed from the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan, and the district of Ordubad; 4) Daghestan, which added the khanate of Baku to its territory (see map 5).

Between 1840 and 1845 the administrative divisions were reduced to three: 1) the Georgian-Imeret'ian province, which incorporated the former Armenian province to western Transcaucasia; 2) the Caspian

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<sup>1</sup> Armenian boys from respectable families of Transcaucasia were sent to St. Petersburg University, see document 97; *AKAK*, IX (docs 535-536, 540), 634-637

<sup>2</sup> The divisions are outlined in the chapter headings of the 12 volumes of *AKAK*.

<sup>3</sup> Burdett, *op. cit.* (vol. 2).

province, which was composed of the former khanates of Karabagh, Sheki, Shirvan, Kuba, Baku, and Talesh; 3) Daghestan, which included Derbent (see map 6).

Between 1845 and 1868 Transcaucasia was transformed into five administrative provinces or *gubernii*s: 1) Tiflis (eastern Georgia); 2) Kutais (western Georgia); 3) Shemakh (the former Caspian province); 4) Derbent (former Daghestan); and, in 1849, 5) Erevan (the former territory of the Armenian province plus the district of Alexandropol') [see map 7].

In 1868<sup>1</sup> the Derbent province was divided into the Daghestan and Baku provinces, while the Shemakh province was enlarged (mainly at the expense of the Tiflis province, which relinquished the territory of Ganja and its environs), and was renamed the Elisavetpol' province. Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, two regions, Kars and Batum, were added to Transcaucasia. By 1880, following minor adjustments, Transcaucasia was divided into five *gubernii*s: Tiflis, Erevan, Elisavetpol', Baku, and Kutais; three *oblasts*: Batum, Kars, and Daghestan;<sup>2</sup> and one *okrug* or area: Zakatal (see map 8).

There is no doubt that during the period of this study Russian officials favored Georgian territorial claims. There were a number of reasons for this preference. The rulers of Georgia had been recognized as kings following the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783). Georgia, in the minds of the Russians, had voluntarily joined the empire. The Georgian nobility, with few exceptions, remained loyal to Russia, had readily assimilated, and had its fighting men in the armed services of Russia. In addition, the Georgian Church was in communion with the Russian Orthodox Church. Tsitsianov, the first administrator in chief of Trans-caucasia, was a Russianized Georgian nobleman, who advanced the Georgian claims to Ganja, Pambak, Shuragol, Shamshadil,

<sup>1</sup> The decree was issued on 9 December 1867.

<sup>2</sup> Tiflis was divided into 8 districts or *uezds* (Gori, Dushet, Akhaltsikhe, Tionet, Signaghi, Akhalkalak'i, Tiflis, Lori-Borchalu); Erevan, 7 districts (Erevan, Etchmiadzin, Alexandropol', Surmalu, Novo-Bayazit, Sharur-Daralagiaz, and Nakhichevan); Elisavetpol', 8 districts (Kazakh, Elisavetpol', Nukhi, Aresh, Shushi, Kariagin, Jevan-shir, Zangezur); Baku, 6 districts (Shemakha, Kuba, Baku, Lenkoran, Jevat, and Geokchai); Batum, 2 districts (Batum and Artvin); Kars, 4 districts (Ardahan, Kars, Olti, Kaghisman); Kutais, 7 districts; and Daghestan, 8 districts.

Kazakh, Borchalu (all part of historic eastern Armenia), as well as Jaro-Belakan.

Except for the Armenian enclave of Erevan, the territories not claimed by Georgia were lumped together first as the Muslim provinces, then as eastern Transcaucasia, later as the Caspian province, and finally as the Shemakh and Elisavetpol' provinces. Russians viewed the area as various regions under the rule of Muslim feudal lords whose rivalry and dreams of autonomy from Persia could be used to facilitate the Russian advance into the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, northern Persia, and eastern Anatolia.

Unlike the Georgians, the Armenians not only lacked a monarch, but were scattered throughout the region and did not possess any significant fighting force. Their religious and secular leaders were primarily concerned with local issues. Their petitions to the Russian administration did not mention any territorial demands; rather they wished for protection from abuse by their Muslim overlords. In fact, it took two decades before the Armenians gained enough confidence to ask for a province of their own. By then half of historic eastern Armenia had been divided between the Georgian and Muslim provinces.

On 11 March 1828, Tsar Nicholas heeded the requests from the Armenians of Russia and their supporters at court, and, as a reward for the Armenian efforts on behalf of Russia during the Second Russo-Persian War, formed the Armenian province out of the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Turkman-chay.<sup>1</sup> Five years later, Rosen convinced the government to approve the adoption of a coat-of-arms for the Armenian province, which depicted the crown of the Armenian kings.<sup>2</sup> Following Rosen's departure, however, Hahn and Golovin' convinced the tsar to abolish the Armenian province on 10 April 1840.<sup>3</sup> In 1849, Vorontsov, to gain Armenian support, created the Erevan province, which not only included the former Armenian province, but incorporated the Alexandropol' district.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See document 309.

<sup>2</sup> See document 352.

<sup>3</sup> *AKAK*, IX (doc. 33), 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> See document 394.

The demographics of Transcaucasia, as well as the gradual Russian conquest of the region, meant that many districts with large Armenian population were excluded from the Erevan province. The administrative divisions between 1868 and 1880 not only did not improve the situation, but may have worsened it. The decisions of the imperial administration, as well as the policy of the various administrators in chief of the Caucasus thus, had a major effect on the administrative map of Transcaucasia and were responsible for the bitter ethnic clashes and territorial disputes in 1905-1907, 1918-1921, and the more recent conflict between the Armenians and their neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

### *Armenians in the Russian Demographic Surveys of Transcaucasia*

The existence of hundreds of Armenian churches and monasteries in the historic territory of eastern Armenia clearly indicates that their low population in the period of this study were a result of forced or voluntary emigration beginning in the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> Between the last decade of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, the Armenians, due to political or economic conditions, either moved within Transcaucasia, left the region for Russia, or moved from neighboring states into Transcaucasia. Armenians relocated more frequently than the other two main ethnic groups residing in Transcaucasia. Figuring the numbers of Armenians in various parts of Transcaucasia is, therefore, extremely difficult, but by no means impossible.

Beginning in 1803, and throughout the nineteenth century, the Russians conducted various population surveys in parts or all of Transcaucasia.<sup>3</sup> Although not as accurate as a present-day census, the surveys were the first of their kind in the region and provide important information on the size and location of the Armenian population of Transcaucasia. The surveys clearly indicate that Armenians were scattered throughout the territory of historic eastern Armenia. Just as

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<sup>1</sup> See R. G. Hovannisian, *The Republic of Armenia, 1918-1920*, 4 vols (Berkeley, 1971-1996); L. Chorbajian, P. Donabedian, & C. Mutafian, *The Caucasian Knot: The History and Geo-Politics of Nagorno-Karabagh* (London, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> For a list of the numerous Armenian religious centers in Transcaucasia; see AKAK, V, pp. 993-1104.

<sup>3</sup> Document 383 lists the various surveys from 1803 to 1843. The first comprehensive census of the region was not conducted until 1897.



emigration (forced or voluntary) was responsible for the reduction of the Armenian population of eastern Armenia, immigration was now responsible for its repopulation by Armenians. Two regions in particular benefited from the arrival of Armenian immigrants.

The first was the mountain belt that separates Armenia from Georgia, that is, Lori, Borchalu, Pambak, Shuragol, Akhalkalak'i, Kazakh, and Shamshadil.<sup>1</sup> Armenians from Erevan, Ganja, Bayazid, Kars, Akhaltsikhe, Erzerum, and Van settled in the first region, as well as Georgia proper.<sup>2</sup> The city of Ganja and its environs maintained its sizable Armenian minority.<sup>3</sup>

The second was the Araratian plain of Erevan and Nakhichevan.<sup>4</sup> The immigration into the second region, however, was a calculated move. The deportation of the Armenians of Van, Bayazid, Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Julfa by Shah 'Abbās in 1604-1605 was a severe blow to the economy of eastern Armenia and eastern Anatolia.<sup>5</sup> The political turmoil of the eighteenth century forced more Armenians to leave the Erevan-Nakhichevan region and to settle in Georgia. The documents clearly indicate that the period from 1797 to 1825 witnessed new emigration of Armenians from the Erevan-Nakhichevan region into Georgia.<sup>6</sup> Unlike previous Armenian immigrants to Georgia--some of whom had arrived in the Middle Ages and

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 5-6, 11-12, 22, 31, 104, 109, 114. It has to be noted that the entire region was part of Georgia until 1849, when Shuragol was given to the Erevan province. Pambak, Kazakh, Borchalu, and Lori became part of Armenia in the twentieth century. Ganja and Shamshadil ended in the Elisavetpol' province (now part of the republic of Azerbaijan), the rest remained in Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> An 1806 document lists the total population of Georgia as 153,572 (which included Ganja, Shamshadil, Kazakh, Shuragol, and Pambak). There were some 50,000 peasants belonging to the state (30,000 Armenian and Georgian and 20,000 Tatar peasants, *AKAK*, III (doc. 1194), 714. The Armenians formed a majority in the city of Tiflis and had large contingents in other towns of eastern Georgia. An 1802 report indicated that Armenians and the small number of Tatars in K'art'li paid 14,852 rubles in taxes, out of the total 23,651 rubles collected from all the citizens, *AKAK*, I (doc. 158), 196.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 101-102.

<sup>4</sup> See documents 298, 300, 303, 304, 310, 312.

<sup>5</sup> For details see E. Herzog, "The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's Myth of Shāh 'Abbās I," in *History and Literature in Iran*, ed. C. Melville, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 59-71.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 5-6, 11-12, 22, 31, 104, 109, 114.

whose ranks were composed of nobles, merchants, and artisans--most of these new immigrants were peasants, who, together with their clan elders, settled across the border in Pambak.<sup>1</sup>

Wars, scorched-earth policies, and emigrations resulted in a shift in the ethnic balance of the region. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Russian survey of Erevan and Nakhichevan, conducted from 1829 to 1832, recorded barely 20 percent of the population as being Armenian in the former and slightly over 16 percent in the latter.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Armenians of Karabagh, most of whom returned home after a short stay in Georgia, the Armenians of Erevan-Nakhichevan stayed in the areas where they resettled.

Documents indicate that Nersēs of Ashtarak had begun to envision an autonomous Armenian enclave under the supervision of the Church.<sup>3</sup> Realizing the low numbers of Armenians in the plain of Ararat, he campaigned for the emigration of Persian Armenians to Russian Armenia.<sup>4</sup> Article XV of the Treaty of Turkmanchay provided a year's time for the Armenians of Azerbaijan to sell their properties and to move to Russia.<sup>5</sup> Tens of thousands of Armenians, whose ancestors had been forcibly taken to Azerbaijan by Shah 'Abbās, repatriated to the newly created Armenian province in 1828-1829. The Russians, who planned to expand into northern Persia and eastern Anatolia, decided to create a strong Armenian defense and economic zone bordering those regions. They not only provided funds but used heavy propaganda, aided by Armenian priests and Russianized Armenian officers, to bring about the transfer of the Armenian population.<sup>6</sup> The Persians objected to some of the tactics used by the Russians and their Armenian subjects to entice and to pressure Armenians of Azerbaijan to repatriate to the Armenian province.<sup>7</sup>

In 1829-1831 thousands of Armenians from eastern Turkey left their homes and immigrated into the Armenian province and south-

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<sup>1</sup> See document 131.

<sup>2</sup> See document 348.

<sup>3</sup> See document 294.

<sup>4</sup> See document 297.

<sup>5</sup> See document 298.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 300, 301, 303, 304, 307, 310, 312, 322.

<sup>7</sup> See documents 306, 311, 313.

western Georgia.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile thousands of Muslims left Erevan-Nakhichevan for Persia and Turkey. Thus, in a part of historic eastern Armenia, the Armenian population came close to achieving parity with the Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

A few years later, the Armenians began to edge out the Muslims in the Armenian province. A survey ordered by Baron Rosen in 1836 has the following information on the taxable inhabitants. Georgia had 225,395 souls: 101,866 Georgians 2,401 T'ush, 2,054 P'shavs, 1,560 Khevsurs, 56,364 Armenians, 15,447 Ossets, 52 Kists, 2,857 Greeks, 1,037 Evangelical missionaries and converts, 41,253 Tatars, and 504 Jews. The Muslim provinces had 202,951 persons, of which 344 were Georgians, 35,286 Armenians, 166,518 Muslims, and 803 Jews. Daghestan had 68,121 individuals, of which 530 were Armenians, 65,885 Tatars, and 1,706 Jews. The Armenian province and Akhaltsikhe had 102,016 people. There were 1,021 Georgians, 54,665 Armenians, 45,568 Tatars, and 762 Jews. Imeret'i had 81,014 persons, of which 79,203 were Imeret'ians, 458 Armenians, 614 Ossets, 6 Tatars, and 733 Jews. Overall Transcaucasia had 213,895 Georgians, 79,203 Imeret'ians, 2,401 T'ush, 2,054 P'shavs, 1,560 Khevsurs, 147,303 Armenians, 16,061 Ossets, 52 Kists, 2,857 Greeks, 1,037 Evangelical missionaries, Swiss, Germans, and converts, 319,230 Tatars, and 4,508 Jews, for a total of 679,497 people.<sup>3</sup>

A survey in 1843 records the entire population (taxable males as well as others).<sup>4</sup> New immigrants arrived from Turkey following the Crimean War (1856) and the Treaty of Berlin (1878). By the end of

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 323, 330. Armenian immigrants from eastern Anatolia continued to trickle into Transcaucasia throughout the nineteenth century. The outbreak of plague in eastern Turkey and its spread into Alexandropol' and Hamamlu in the late 1830s and early 1840s forced the Russian to create quarantine posts, *AKAK*, IX (docs. 71, 83, 564), 65-67, 77-78, 681-682.

<sup>2</sup> See document 348.

<sup>3</sup> *SAAN*, III, 408. Average family size was between five and six. Income from Transcaucasia (excluding the Armenian province, Akhaltsikhe, and Jaro-Belakan) was 1,293,877 silver rubles (245,780 from state-owned properties; 138,260 from mines; 151,752 from customs and road tolls; and 758,084 from various taxes), *ibid.*, 409.

<sup>4</sup> See document 384.

the century (as reflected in the census of 1897) the Armenians had finally managed to achieved a majority in the Erevan province.<sup>1</sup>

The highlands of Karabagh (the five melikdoms, Zangezur, Siwnik', and Bargushat) had always retained an Armenian majority.<sup>2</sup> Between 1795 and 1805 a number of Armenian meliks and their subjects, fearing Ebrāhim Khan, left their villages and temporarily settled in the city of Ganja and in southern districts of eastern Georgia.<sup>3</sup> Most of them returned to their abandoned villages following the murder of Ebrāhim Khan in 1806.<sup>4</sup>

The Armeno-Azeri conflict over Karabagh<sup>5</sup> has unfortunately spilled over into the scholarly community. Despite overwhelming evidence of the Armenian presence in Karabagh, a number of Azeri historians insist that the Armenians are newcomers to the region. They claim that the Armenian population of Karabagh arrived there after 1828, when thousands of Armenians emigrated from Persia. Their claims have been blindly accepted by a number of Western scholars.<sup>6</sup>

The documents in this study firmly refute all such claims. In 1822, the Russian administration decided to survey the Armenian population in Transcaucasia. The official reason for the survey was to determine how many non-Orthodox Christians were in the parts of the region under Russian rule.<sup>7</sup> Another reason could have been Catholicos Ep'rem's plan to leave the khanate of Erevan and to collect funds from

<sup>1</sup> By 1917 the Armenians made up more than 65 percent of the population. Much of the southern part of the Erevan province, however, retained a large Muslim population.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh* (Costa Mesa, Ca. 1993), pp. 15-20; also see document 13.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 4-6, 11-12, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *AVPR*, record group 100/3 (Russian Relations with Armenians), file 464, ff. 5-9, 12, 189-190 347-348, *AKAK*, I, docs. 871, 874.; II, doc. 1714; III, docs. 598-600; VI/1, doc. 1265.

<sup>5</sup> The region encompassing much of the five Armenian districts of Karabagh was designated as an autonomous *oblast* by the Soviets (called *Nagorno-Karabakh* or Mountainous Karabagh). Despite an overwhelming Armenian majority, it was placed in the territory of Soviet Azerbaijan in early July 1923; see Chorbajian, et al., *op. cit.*, for details.

<sup>6</sup> For examples, see A. Altstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks* (Stanford, 1992), p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Since the Georgians were in communion with the Russian Church, that left Armenian Apostolic, Armenian Catholics, and Armenian Protestants as the main non-Orthodox Christians in Transcaucasia.

the Armenians in Transcaucasia for the repayment of the large debts of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> Russian officials and Armenian leaders in Georgia might have decided that such a survey would be beneficial. The role of Nersēs of Ashtarak in collecting data from the various dioceses would support such a conclusion. There is also a possibility that Ermolov, distrustful of the remaining khans, including the khan of Karabagh, sought at the suggestion of Nersēs and some of the meliks to reorganize the administrative structure of Russian Transcaucasia by separating the Armenian-populated districts from the control of the Muslim khans.

In any case the survey managed to record the number of Armenians in Georgia, Ganja (Elisavetpol'), and Baku.<sup>2</sup> Erevan and Nakhichevan, under Persian rule at the time, were not included in the survey. The Khan of Karabagh, Mahdī-qolī, was convinced that Russia planned to remove the Armenian-populated districts of Karabagh from his supervision. After all, his grandfather had penetrated the mountain districts of Karabagh just six decades ago, and the meliks had returned and had been granted certain rights by the Russians and by himself.<sup>3</sup> He protested vehemently and delayed the survey in Karabagh.<sup>4</sup> Suspecting that Russia was planning to end the autonomy of the remaining khanates, Mahdī-qolī fled to Persia soon after<sup>5</sup> and the survey of Karabagh commenced.

The survey was not conducted by Nersēs. To calm Muslim fears, Ermolov appointed two Russians to supervise it. It began in early 1823 and was completed on 17 April of that year.<sup>6</sup> Its more than 300 pages recorded both the Armenian and Muslim population, not by numbers of individuals, but by villages and tax assessments.<sup>7</sup> The district of Khachen had 12 Armenian villages and no Tatar villages; Jraberd had 8 Armenian villages and no Tatar villages, Dizak had 14 Armenian

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 246-247.

<sup>2</sup> See document 253.

<sup>3</sup> See document 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See document 252.

<sup>6</sup> See document 256. Part of the survey is reproduced in *AKAK*, VI/1 (docs. 1304-1305, 1308), 852-858.

<sup>7</sup> The survey was conducted by Colonel Ermolov II and Counselor Mogilevskii. It was published in Tiflis in 1866 (no pagination).

villages and 1 Tatar village, Gulistan had 2 Armenian and 5 Tatar villages, Varanda had 23 Armenian villages and 1 Tatar village. Thus the five mountainous districts of Karabagh which, according to Persian and Turkish sources had constituted the five (*kamse*) Armenian melikdoms for at least three centuries,<sup>1</sup> had an overwhelming Armenian population before 1828.<sup>2</sup> The districts of Tat'ew (12 Armenian and 1 Tatar village), Kiupar (6 Armenian villages), and Bargushat (2 Armenian and 3 Tatar villages), which form part of present-day Zangezur but which were then included in Karabagh, were also overwhelmingly Armenian.<sup>3</sup>

The documents and surveys also indicate that there was no significant immigration of Armenians from Persia or Turkey into Karabagh. Between 1828 and 1831, 45,207 Armenians immigrated to Erevan (23,568 from Persia and 21,639 from Turkey), 3,883 to Nakhichevan (3,856 from Persia and 27 from Turkey).<sup>4</sup> The Armenians of Bayazid asked to settle in Karabagh but were told that there was not enough land for them there. They were encouraged to settle around Lake Sevan, which Muslim tribes had evacuated. They did, and the district became known as Novo-Bayazit or New Bayazid (later Gavar and Kamo).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see *Tarikh-e Qarabagh*, written by Mīrzā Jāmāl, the vizier of Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh, manuscript no. B-712/11603, Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku (my English translation and the facsimile is in *A History of Qarabagh*, *op.cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> The survey lists Goris and Khan-Kend (present-day Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno Karabagh) as Armenian settlements.

<sup>3</sup> An official state publication puts the Armenians of Karabagh at approximately 19,000 and the Tatars at approximately 35,000. Thus the Armenians were 35.2 percent of the total population of the entire Karabagh province. The important fact, is that the document clearly states that the Armenians were concentrated in the mountainous part of Karabagh. Thus 35.2 percent of the population of Karabagh (the Armenians) inhabited 38 percent of the land (mountainous Karabagh), where they formed an overwhelming majority, *Obozrenie rossiskikh vladenii za Kavkazom v statisticheskoi, etnograficheskoi, i finansovoi otnosheniakh* (St. Petersburg, 1836), no pagination.

<sup>4</sup> Russian survey of the Armenian province (former khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan) 1829-1832 in Ivan Shopen, *Istoricheskii pamiatnik sostoianiia Armianskoi Oblasti* (St. Petersburg, 1852); my English translation of the survey is in *The Khanate of Erevan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-270.

<sup>5</sup> *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 2254, f. 8.

The only work that deals primarily with the Armenian immigration from Persia to Russia is by Glinka.<sup>1</sup> He does not supply any numbers, but makes it clear that the majority of the Armenians were headed towards the newly established Armenian province, created from the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan. An archival document, however, does shine some light on the issue. The document states that only 279 families from Persia decided to emigrate to Karabagh and that they settled in Kapan and Meghri on the banks of the Arax (in the southernmost part of Zangezur, bordering Iran).<sup>2</sup> All documents related to the immigration make it clear that Russia, for the reasons cited above, insisted that the Armenians from Persia and Turkey settle in the Armenian province.<sup>3</sup>

### *Armenians and the Economic Development of Transcaucasia*

Russian economic policy shifted from trying to modernize Transcaucasia to exploiting it primarily for its raw materials. In late 1799, Paul sent Count Appolo Musin-Pushkin, a geologist, to Georgia to assess its mineral wealth.<sup>4</sup> In 1800, Musin-Pushkin reported that Georgia had great mineral resources. Its government was weak, however, and it was in imminent danger either of being annexed by Turkey or Persia or of falling into civil disorder. Russia, Musin-Pushkin concluded, should annex the region and exploit its mineral wealth. His reports to Paul and, later, to Alexander, strengthened the arguments of those advocating annexation. As Musin-Pushkin asked to be put in charge of the mining operations in Transcaucasia, his reports of the mineral wealth of the region were exaggerated. He also felt that Russian administrators, with the help of cheap or free labor, would be able to extract minerals from abandoned or nonprofitable mines.

In 1801, Alexander appointed Musin-Pushkin as commissioner of mines, a position he kept until his death in 1805. Soon after, Musin-Pushkin began to demand that Armenians from Karabagh and Ganja,

<sup>1</sup> S. Glinka, *Opisanie pereseleniia Armian' Adderbidzhanskikh v' predely Rossii* (Moscow, 1831).

<sup>2</sup> TSGVIA, record group VUA, file 978, ff. 22-26.

<sup>3</sup> See document 312.

<sup>4</sup> P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza* (St. Petersburg, 1869), II, 463.

who had settled in southern Georgia a few years earlier, be forced to work in the copper mines of Alaverdi and Akht'al. The Armenians, most of whom were subjects of Armenian meliks, were free peasants and not serfs, and they, as well as the meliks, complained bitterly.<sup>1</sup> Tsitsianov, who did not favor the Armenians, ordered that Armenian refugees from Erevan be settled around the mines as laborers.<sup>2</sup> He also demanded that a group of Armenians in Ganja who owned alum and iron mines sign a contract and deliver a percentage of their product to the government.<sup>3</sup> Tsitsianov felt that the Armenians had not paid their taxes regularly and that the mines were not operated efficiently.<sup>4</sup> The total disregard for the welfare of the workers, as well as the disruption of agricultural output, however, forced the chief administrators of the region to reprimand Musin-Pushkin and the Mining Commission.<sup>5</sup>

The difficult conditions forced Armenians to refuse to work, to flee, or to sell their land.<sup>6</sup> A report immediately following Musin-Pushkin's death revealed that the government had spent over 40,000 rubles on the mines and had taken only 3,000 rubles.<sup>7</sup> By 1811 General Tormasov wrote to State Counselor Gur'ev, stating that even the Alaverdi copper mines did not produce the expected amount and that the quality of the ore was poor.<sup>8</sup> By the third decade of the century the administration had to admit that mining efforts had impoverished the peasants who lived around the mines.<sup>9</sup> In exploiting the raw materials of Transcaucasia, the Mining Commission treated the region as a colony and, despite all efforts, mining was not only a total failure but left a bad taste among the natives for future mining operations.

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<sup>1</sup> See documents 74, 83, 88, 90, 91.

<sup>2</sup> See document 104.

<sup>3</sup> See documents 118-119. The Russian administration had its eye on the Loris Melikov family's silver and lead mines in the village of Ardovi, 17 miles from Alaverdi, *TSGIA-Gruz*, record group 2/1, file 1529, ff. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> See document 99.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 112, 117.

<sup>6</sup> See documents 130, 161.

<sup>7</sup> D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832* (New York, 1957), p. 259.

<sup>8</sup> *AKAK*, IV (doc. 80), 68-71.

<sup>9</sup> See document 241.



After Ermolov visited Persia in 1817, he reported to the minister of finance that trade between India and Astrakhan was primarily conducted over Persia and was in the hands of the Armenians. He added that if these Armenians relocated to Russia, the state would benefit greatly.<sup>1</sup> Other reports indicate that Russians were aware that the Armenians played a significant role in the trade of the entire region.<sup>2</sup> The documents confirm that Transcaucasian trade was in the hands of the Armenians.<sup>3</sup> In 1828 five million rubles' worth of goods was transported by the Armenians from Odessa alone.<sup>4</sup> Russian, European, and Persian goods were sold by the Armenians throughout Transcaucasia. Reports indicate that Russia sought to promote the interests of Russian merchants by encouraging Russian companies to compete with the Armenians.<sup>5</sup> The government even suggested that Russian merchants could buy opium from Anatolia and sell it, via Siberia, to China at a much lower price than the British were selling it in Canton.<sup>6</sup> Armenian merchants in Georgia had accumulated so much wealth that they requested to be granted ranks of nobility and to be permitted to own serfs.<sup>7</sup> The Armenian merchants opened new enterprises in Tabriz, Shemakha, Elisavetpol', Alexandropol', Astarābād, and Baku.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the period under study, the government not only gave up its efforts to challenge the monopoly of the Armenian merchants, but elevated the *mokalakebi*, or the most prominent Armenian merchants in Georgia, to the rank of *pochetnye grazhdane* (honored citizens) of the Russian Empire.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AKAK, VI/2 (doc. 261), 119. Peter the Great had transplanted an entire silk-producing Armenian village to the Caucasus, where it continued to produce silk, AKAK, VI/2 (doc. 976), 602.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 455), 247.

<sup>3</sup> See document 366, 391.

<sup>4</sup> See document 360.

<sup>5</sup> See documents 391-392.

<sup>6</sup> See document 360.

<sup>7</sup> See documents 211, 217.

<sup>8</sup> See documents 211, 257, 351, 411.

<sup>9</sup> R.G. Suny, *Looking toward Ararat* (Bloomington, 1993), p. 39.

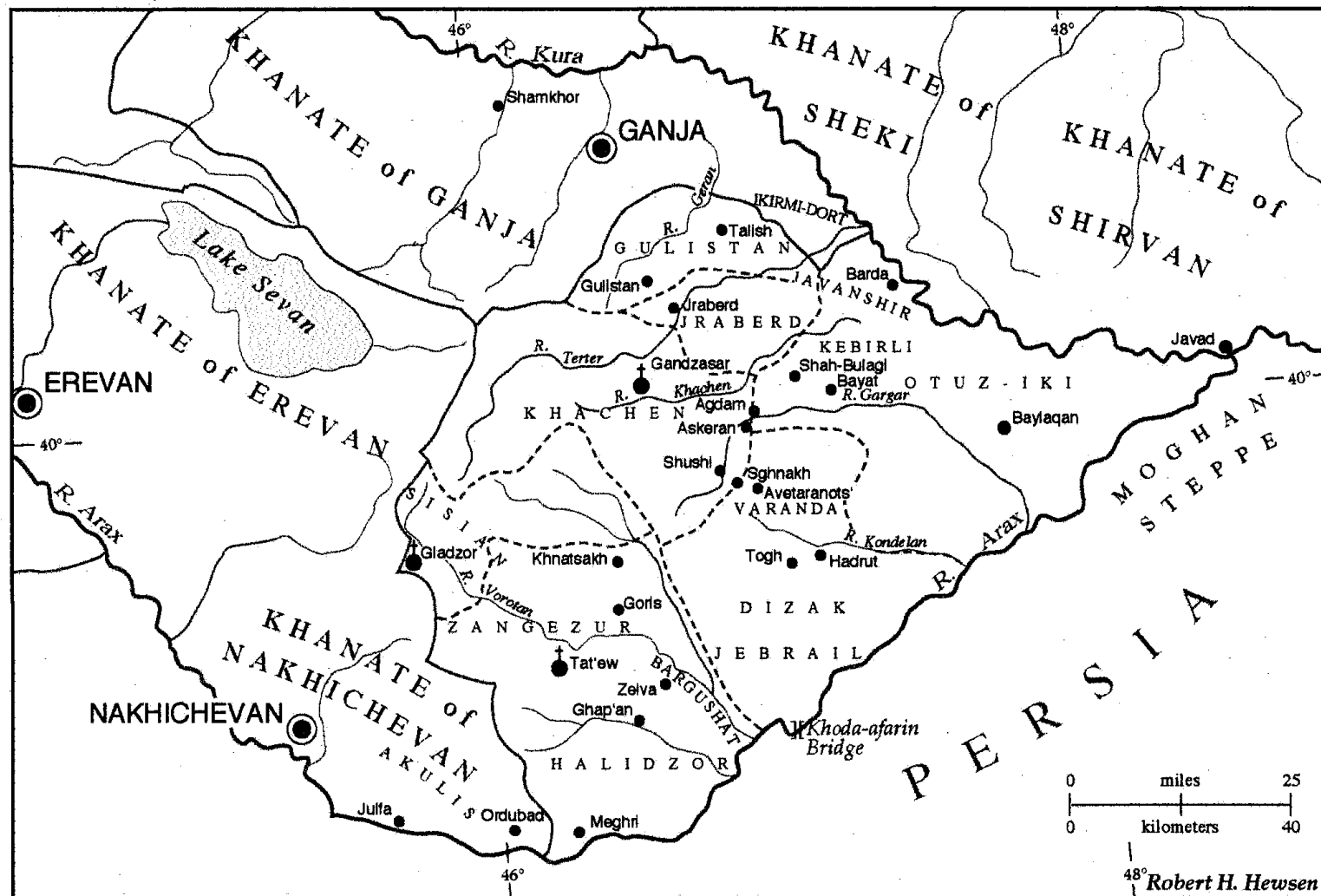




1. The Caucasus and Transcaucasia in the Late Eighteenth Century



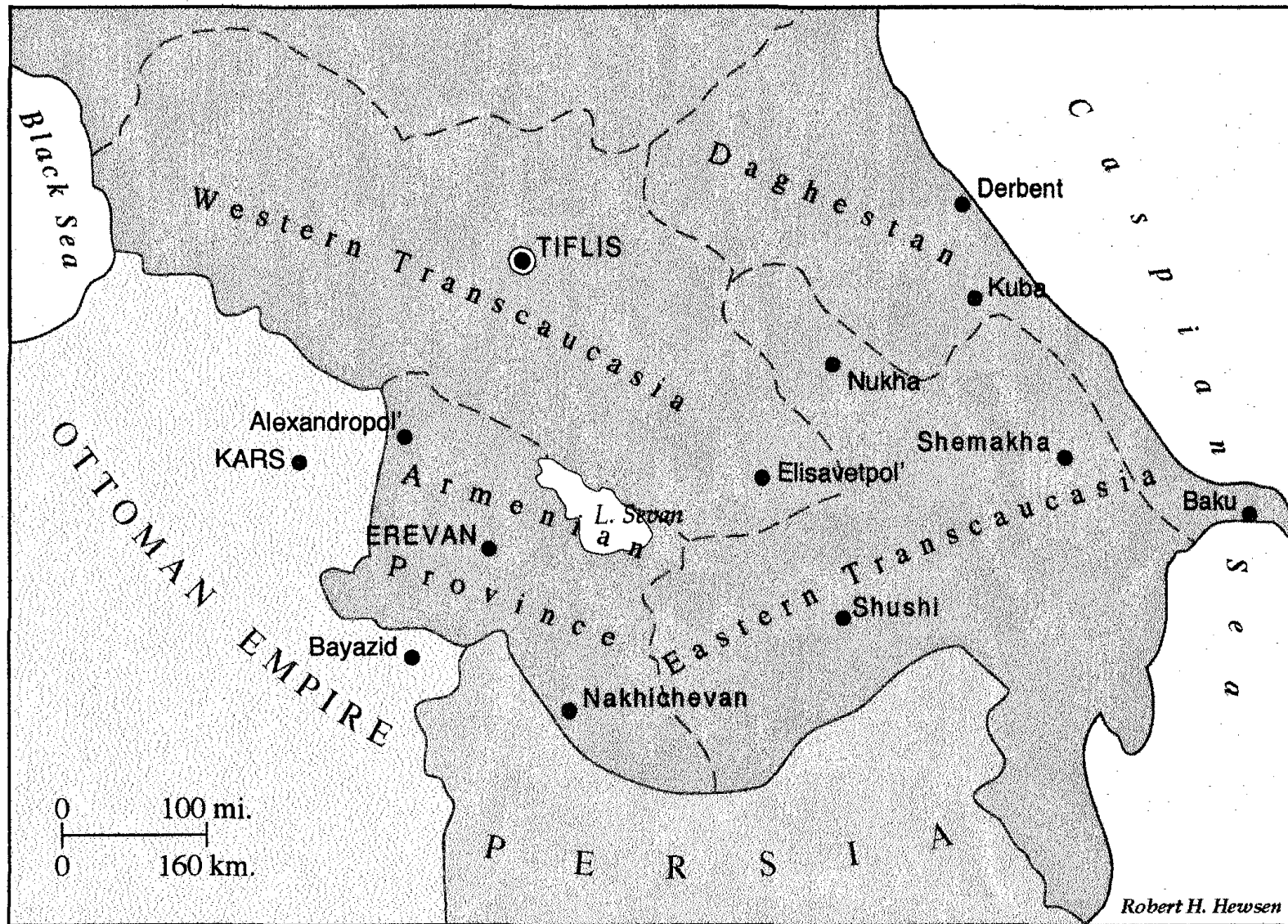
2. The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, 1801-1878



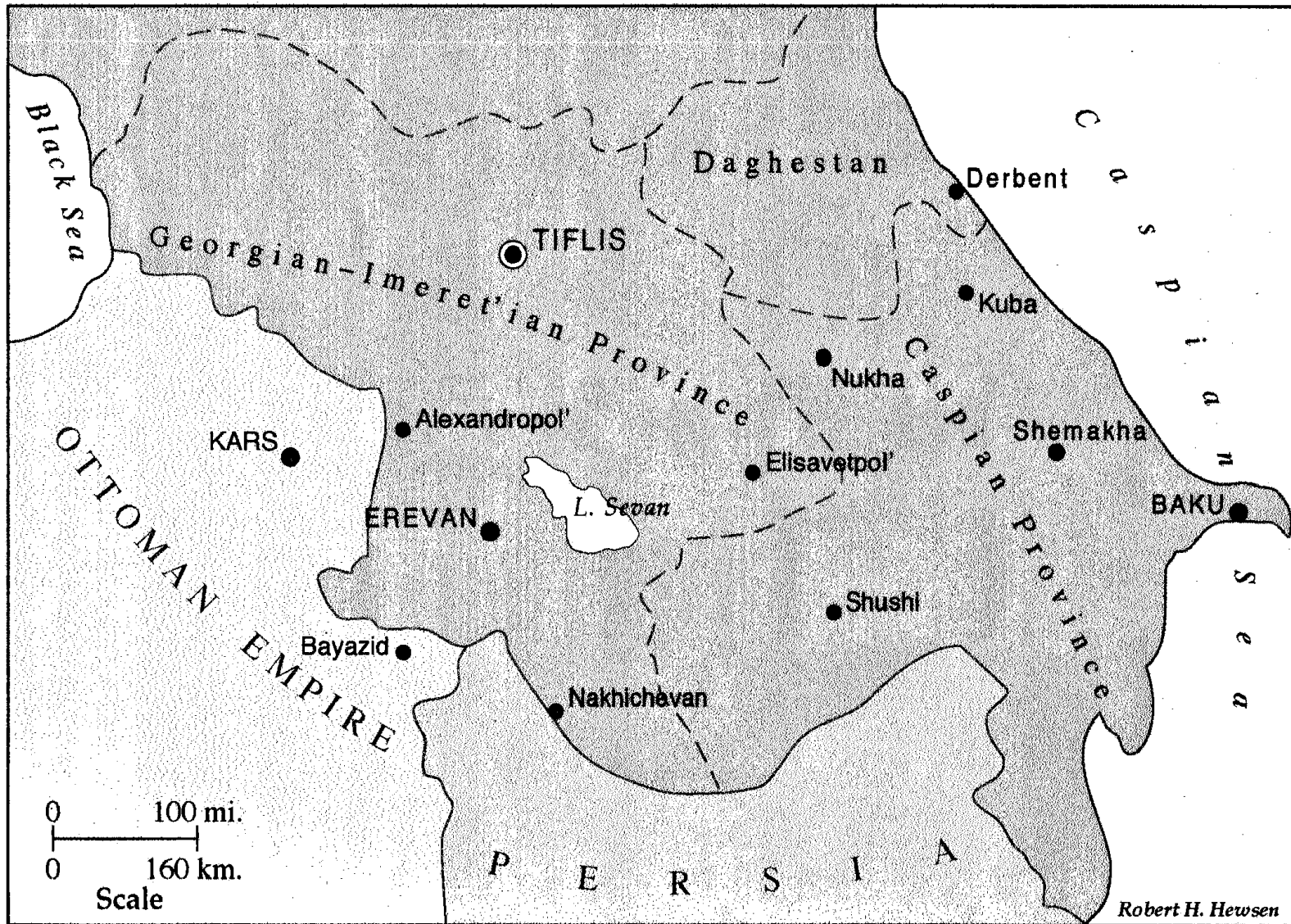
3. Karabagh in the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century



**4. Russian Administrative Divisions in Transcaucasia, 1806-1827**

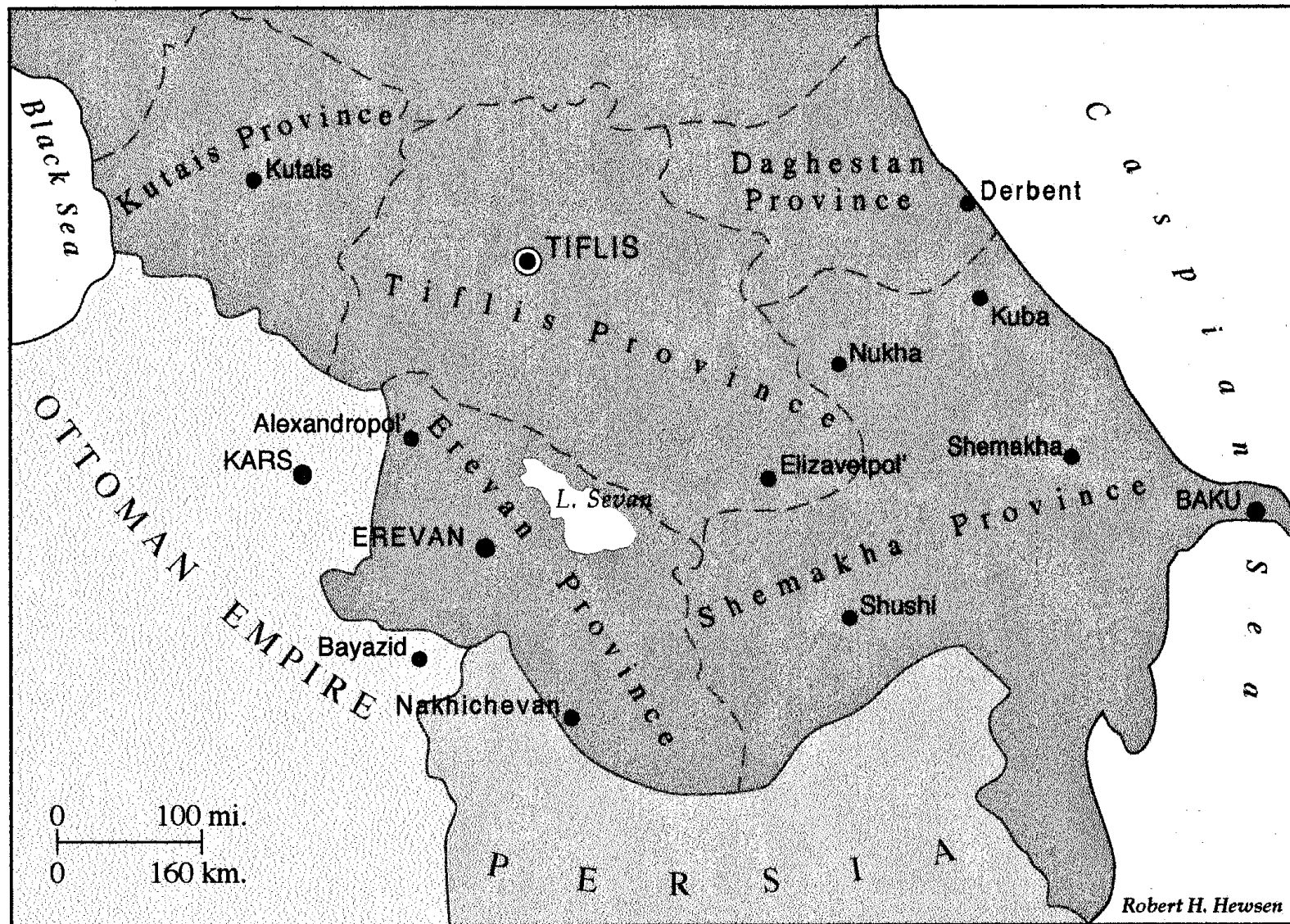


5. Russian Administrative Divisions in Transcaucasia, 1828-1840



**6. Russian Administrative Divisions in Transcaucasia, 1840-1845**





7. Russian Administrative Divisions in Transcaucasia, 1845-1868



8. Russian Administrative Divisions and Subdivisions in Transcaucasia, 1868-1880

## **Appendix**

### ***Russian Tsars (Romanovs)***

Catherine II (1762-1796)

Paul (1796-1801)

Alexander I (1801-1825)

Nicholas I (1825-1855)

Alexander II (1855-1881)

Alexander III (1881-1894)

### ***Persian Shahs (Qajars)***

Āgā Moḥammad (1780-1797)

Fath 'Alī (1797-1834)

Moḥammad (1834-1848)

Nāṣer al-Dīn (1848-1896)

### ***Ottoman Sultans***

Selim III (1789-1807)

Mustafa IV (1807-1808)

Mahmut II (1808-1839)

Abdūlmecit I (1839-1861)

Abdūlaziz (1861-1876)

Murat V (1876)

Abdülhamit II (1876-1909)

### ***Georgian Kings***

Erekle II (1762-1798)

Giorgi XII (1798-1800)

David Batonishvili [regent] (1800-1801)

*Armenian Church Leaders  
(based on Ormanean)*

*Catholicoi at the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, Vagharshapat*

Simēon of Erevan (1763-1780)

Ghukas of Karin (1780-1799)

Hovsēp' Arghut'ean (1800-1801), died prior to consecration.

Dawit' V of Enēgēt' (1801-1807), usurped the throne

Daniēl of Surmaṛi (1807-1808), elected in 1801 but imprisoned by  
Dawit' until 1807

Ep'rem of Dzoragegh (1809-1830)

Hovhannēs VIII of Karbi (1831-1842)

Nersēs V of Ashtarak (1843-1857)

Matt'ēos of Constantinople (1858-1865)

Gēorg IV of Constantinople (1866-1885)

Makar of T'eghut (1885-1891)

*Catholicoi at Sis, Cilicia*

Kirakos I (1797-1822)

Ep'rem II (1823-1833)

Mik'ayēl II (1833-1855)

Kirakos II (1855-1866)

Mkrtich' Kefsizean (1871-1894)

*Catholicoi at Aght'amar, Van*

Mik'ayēl (1796-1810)

Karapet (+1813?)

Khach'atur (1813-1814)

Karapet (+1816?)

Harut'iwn (+1823?)

Hovhannēs of Shadakh (1823-1843)

Khach'atur of Mok' (1844-1851)  
 Gabriël Shiroyean (1851-1857)  
 Petros (Pupul) (1858-1864)  
 Khach'atur II Shiroyean (1864-1895)

*Catholicoi at Gandzasar, Karabagh*

Esayi Hasan-Jalalean (1702-1728)  
 Nersēs (Anti-Patriarch)  
 Israyēl (Anti-Patriarch)  
 Hovhannēs X Hasan Jalalean (1763-1786)  
 Simēon V (1794-1810)  
 Israyēl (Anti-Patriarch)  
 Sargis II Hasan Jalalean (1810-1815)

*Patriarchs of Constantinople*

Zak'aria II P'ok'uzean (1782-+1799), second time  
 Daniēl of Surmarī (1799-1800)  
 Hovhannēs of Baiburt (1800-1801)  
 Grigor IV of Khamse (1801-1802)  
 Hovhannēs I of Baiburt (1802-1813), second time  
 Abraham of Tat'ew (1813-1815)  
 Pōghos of Adrianople (1815-1823)  
 Karapet of Palat' (1823-1831)  
 Step'anos Aghavni Zak'arean (1831-1839)  
 Hakobos Serobean (1839-1840)  
 Step'anos Aghavni Zak'arean (1840-1841), second time  
 Astuatsatur of Constantinople (1841-1844)  
 Mett'ēos of Constantinople (1844-1848)  
 Hakobos Serobean (1848-1856), second time  
 Gēorg of Constantinople (1856-1860)  
 Sargis Guyumjean (1860-1861)  
 Step'anos Maghak'ean, *locum tenens* (1861-1863)  
 Pōghos T'agt'agean (1863-1869)

Ignatios Gagmachean (1869)  
Mkrtich' Khrimean of Van (1869-1873)  
Nersēs Varzhapetean (1874-1884)  
Harut'iwn Vehapetean (1885-1888)  
Khorēn Ach'rgēan (1888-1894)

*Patriarchs of Jerusalem*

Petros of Evdokia (1793-1800)  
T'ēodoros of Van (1800-1818)  
Gabriēl of Nicomedia (1818-1840)  
Zak'aria of Kop' (1840-1846)  
Kirakos of Jerusalem (1846-1850)  
Hovhannēs of Smyrna (1850-1860)  
Vrt'anes, *locum tenens* (1860-1864)  
Esayi T'alasts'i (1864-1885)  
Eremia Sahakean, *locum tenens* (1885-1889)

***Russian Administrative Chiefs in the Caucasus (and Transcaucasia)***

- Count Ivan Vasil'evich Gudovich (1797-1799), General of Infantry,  
Commander of the Caucasian Line
- Karl Feodorovich Knorring (1799-1802) Lieutenant General,  
Commander of the Caucasian Line
- Prince Paul Dmitrievich Tsitsianov (1802-1806), General of Infantry,  
Administrator in Chief
- Count Ivan Vasil'evich Gudovich (1806-1809), General-Field Marshal  
and Administrator in Chief
- Alexander Petrovich Tormasov (1809-1811), General of Cavalry and  
Administrator in Chief
- Marquis Philip Osipovich Paulucci (1811-1812), Lieutenant General  
and Administrator in Chief
- Nicholas Feodorovich Rtishchev (1812-1816), General of Infantry and  
Administrator in Chief
- Alexei Petrovich Ermolov (1816-1827), General of Infantry and  
Administrator in Chief
- Count Ivan Feodorovich Paskevich Varshavskii-Erivanskii (1827-  
1831), General-Field Marshall and Administrator in Chief
- Baron Gregory Vladimirovich Rosen I (1831-1837), General of  
Infantry and Administrator in Chief
- Evgenii Aleksandrovich Golovin' (1837-1842), General of Infantry  
and Administrator in Chief
- Alexander Ivanovich Neidgardt (1842-1844), General of Infantry and  
Administrator in Chief
- Prince Michael Semenovich Vorontsov (1844-1854), General of  
Infantry and Viceroy for the Caucasus
- Nicholas Nikolaevich Murav'ev (1854-1856), General of Infantry and  
Administrator in Chief
- Prince Alexander Ivanovich Bariatinskii (1856-1862), General-Field  
Marshal and Viceroy for the Caucasus
- Prince Michael Nikolaevich Romanov (1863-1882), Viceroy for the  
Caucasus
- Alexander Mikhaelovich Dondukov-Korsakov (1882-1890),  
High Commissioner for the Caucasus

*Table of Ranks in Imperial Russia*

<i>Military (land forces)</i>	<i>Civilian</i>	<i>Grade</i>
Field Marshal	Chancellor/Chief Minister	I
General of Artillery	Vice-Chancellor	II
General of Cavalry	Active Privy Counselor	
General of Infantry	Minister	
Lieutenant General	Privy Counselor Ambassador	III
Major General	Active State Counselor	IV
Brigadier General	State Counselor	V
Colonel	Collegiate Counselor Ministry Counselor	VI
Lieutenant Colonel	Court Counselor	VII
Major	Collegiate Assessor Ministry Assessor	VIII
Captain	Titled Counselor	IX
Staff Captain	Collegiate Secretary Ministry Secretary	X
	Secretary of the Senate	XI
Lieutenant	Provincial Secretary	XII
Second Lieutenant	Registrar of the Senate	XIII
Guidon Bearer	Collegiate Registrar Ministry Registrar	XIV



## Glossary of Place Names

<i>Former Name</i>	<i>Subsequent Name(s) or Variant</i>
Anzalī	Bandar-e Pahlavi, Iran
Aparan-su	Kazakh River, Armenia
Arpachay	Akhurian River, Armenia
Bash-Aparan	Aparan, Armenia
Bayazid	Doğubayazit, Turkey
Burav	Vladikavkaz, Ordzhonikidze (present-day Vladikavkaz), Russia
Constantinople	Istanbul
Darachichak	Dsaghkadzor, Armenia
Darbānd	Derbent
Dorpat	Tartu, Estonia
Ekaterinodar	Krasnodar, Russia
Ganja	Elisavetpol', Kirovabad (present-day Ganja), Azerbaijan
Gokchay	Sevan (lake and region)
Gumri	Alexandropol', Leninakan (present-day Gumri [Kumairi]), Armenia
Hamamlu	Spitak, Armenia
Ĵalāl-oĝlī	Stepanavan, Armenia
Kirk-Bulagh	Akunk, Armenia
Kara-Kilisa	Kirovabad (present-day Vanadzor), Armenia
Kazakh	Dilijan, Armenia
Khankend	Stepanakert, Mountainous Karabagh
Kishinev	Chisinau, Moldova
Kulb (Koghb)	Tuzluca, Turkey
Lankarān	Lenkoran, Azerbaijan
Muzlik	Mozdok
New Nakhichevan	Suburb of present-day Rostov-on-Don, Russia
Novo-Bayazit	Gavar, Kamo (present-day Gavar), Armenia
Qarābāĝ	Karabagh

Qazzāq	Kazakh
Qezlar	Kizliar
Qobbe	Kuba, Azerbaijan
Šakkī	Sheki
Šams al-din	Shamshadil
Šamākī	Shemakha
Sardārābād	Hoktember, Armenia
Shuragol	Shirak, Armenia-Turkey
Smyrna	Izmir, Turkey
Talin	Verin Talin, Armenia
Tiflis	Tbilisi, Georgia
Trebizond	Trabzon, Turkey
Vagharshapat	Etchmiadzin (city of), Armenia
Zangi River	Hrazdan River, Armenia
Zeiva	Dawit' Bek, Armenia

## Glossary of Terms

- amir*: commander, chief, lord, petty prince  
*amira*: Armenian bankers in Constantinople  
*anbār*: storage facility  
*aqā/aga*: chief master, head of clan, lord, nobleman, commander  
     also sir (mister) or a eunuch  
*aqalar*: village or tribal elder  
*archmandrite*, see *vardapet*  
*arshin*: Russian measure equivalent to 28 inches or 71 cm.  
*'avārez*: tax payable by performing a service  
*bandar*: port  
*barschina*: *corvée*  
*beg/bek/bey*: high-ranking official, grandee (also see *sultan*)  
*beglerbegi/beylerbey*: provincial governor in Persia  
*begūm*: princess, lady of high rank  
*bīgār*: a form of *corvée*  
*bulagh (būlağ)*: spring or rivulet  
*caliph*: see *catholicos*  
*caravan-başı*: head of caravan  
*catholicos* at Etchmiadzin: Supreme head of the Armenian Church  
*catholicoi* of Agt'amar and Aghuank': Heads of the Armenian Church  
     in the regions Van and Karabagh  
*čāvūš*: herald or messenger, head of caravan guards, sergeant  
*chay (čāy)*: river  
*chetvert*: Russian measure--liquid measure: equivalent to 3 liters, dry  
     measure: equivalent to 210 liters  
*College*: see *Collegium*  
*Collegium/Collegia*: ministries established by Peter the Great  
*corvée*: unpaid work required by a vassal, forced labor exacted as a tax  
*dang*: one-sixth part of any piece of real estate  
*dārūḡe*: combination of police chief and city superintendent  
*dīn īpāg*: see *jizya*  
*dīvān*: chancery  
*desiatin*: Russian measure equivalent to 2.7 acres  
*esaul (yesāvūl)*: Cossack captain, guard

*esnaf*: guilds

*Etchmiadzin*: Holy See of the Armenians

*falak*: bastinado

*farmān*: royal edict or decree

*farrāš*: footman, usher

*gesar yoldaşı*: close companion

*glavnoupravliaiushchii*: Administrator in Chief

*golām (ğul)*: slave

*guberniia*: province (governorship)

*iqta'*: land assignment

*işik-āğāsī*: chamberlain

*Jäger* regiment: a rapid-moving regiment of chasseurs

*jizya*: poll tax paid by non-Muslims

*kadkodā*: head of a village or a district

*kalantar*: main city official equivalent to a mayor

*kal'at*: robe of honor

*kale*: see *qal'e*

*kāleše*: crown or state lands

*kalvār*: see *karvār*

*karvār*: Persian measure equivalent to half a ton or 1102.30 lbs.

*kamse*: The five Armenian districts in Mountainous Karabagh

*kāşş*: see *kāleše*

*kevki*: see *kadkodā*

*khan*: governor of a *khanate*, tribal chief, or military commander

*khanate*: small province in Persia or Transcaucasia

*kishlak (qeşlāq)*, winter quarters of nomads (opposite of *yeilāq*)

*kopek*: one-hundredth of a *ruble*

*krai*: country or region

*kūlūk*: dues for upkeep of officials

*kūrūr*: half a million

*maḥal*: district or county

*maḥalle*: city quarter

*mokalake*: wealthy citizens in Tiflis

*māl va jehāt*: various land and property taxes

*mālekāne*: portion of produce belonging to the landlord

*mamasakhlisi*: clan elder in Georgia

- melik*: Armenian petty prince, feudal lord  
*meydān*: city or town square  
*millet*: religious community  
*mīnbaşı*: head of one thousand  
*mīnšikār-başı*: Master of the Hunt  
*mīrzā*: senior administrative official, secretary (if precedes a name),  
 prince (if follows a name): e.g. Mīrzā Šaft', 'Abbās Mīrzā  
*mīzān*: weighing machine in bazaar  
*mīzāndār*: Person in charge of weighing goods and collecting the  
 state's share.  
*mourav*: steward or district commander in Georgia  
*mu'af*: tax exempt  
*mulk (molk)*: private property  
*muṛon*: holy chrism  
*namestnik*: viceroy  
*nasaqčī-başı*: commander of royal guard  
*nā 'ib/nāyeb*: deputy  
*nāyeb al-saltane*: "heir to the throne," official title of 'Abbās Mīrzā  
*nokar*: retainer, attendant  
*nowrūz*: Persian New Year, first day of Spring  
*oblast'*: province (Russian)  
*obrok*: quit-rent (Russian)  
*okrug*: district (Russian)  
*Polozhenie*: Regulation imposed by Russia (1836) on the Armenian  
 Church  
*pasha*: governor of a *pashalik*  
*pashalik*: small province in the Ottoman Empire  
*patriarch*: Head of the Armenian Church in Constantinople and  
 Jerusalem  
*peškeš (piškeš, baḳšiš)*: gift or bribe  
*pīškār*: same as *bīgār*  
*pud*: Russian weight equivalent to approximately 36 lbs.  
*qadi(qāzī)*: judge, village elder in Daghestan  
*qal'e*: fort  
*qal'e-beg*: commander of a fort  
*rahdār*: customs inspector, road toll collector

*ranjbar*: landless peasants

*ra'yat*: peasant or subject

*ruble (rouble)*: Russian currency = to 100 *kopeks*. 1.25 rubles were equal to one British pound in 1800.

*rūd*: river

*sanjak*: districts in a *pashalik*

*sardār*: commander in chief

*sazhen*: Russian measure equivalent to 2.13 meters

*shahzādeh*: prince

*shamkhal*: title of the leader of the Tarku tribe in Daghestan

*soyūrġāl*: grant of land or its revenue in lieu of salary or by way of pension

*su*: stream, rivulet

*sultan*: high-ranking official, grandee

*timar*: land assignment

*tīyūl (tuyul)*: land assignment

*tomān*: Persian currency equal to 1.25 Russian rubles or one British pound in 1800. One tomān = ten *mīnāltūns* or *ṣāheb qerāns*, fifty *'abbāsīs* or ten *rīāls*.

*Uč-Kilisā*: "Three churches," Muslim term for Etchmiadzin

*Üç-Kilisa*: "Three churches," Monastery in Diadin, Bayazid

*uezd*: lowest administrative division in Russia equal to quarter, now *raion*

*'ulama ('olamā)*: learned men of Islam

*vali*: provincial governor in the Ottoman Empire, regent, viceroy

*vardapet*: Armenian celibate cleric who has completed his studies at a seminary; equal to archmandrite in Orthodox Church

*waqf (vaqf)*: land immobilized for charitable or religious endowment

*vekil-vezir*: chancellor (in Georgian kingdom)

*verst*: Russian measure equivalent to 3,500 feet, two-third of a mile, or 1.06 kms.

*vilayet (velāyat)*: large province in the Ottoman Empire

*yüzbaşı*: head of a hundred, administrative official or military officer

*zemskii court*: regional land court (in Russia)

## Biographical Notes<sup>1</sup>

Abas, Melik. Melik of Dizak, a district in Karabagh, son of Melik Vakhtam and great grandson of Melik Egan.

‘Abbās Mīrzā (1789-1833). Second son and heir of Fath ‘Alī Shah. A brave soldier who sought, with French and English help, to modernize the Persian army. He was commander in chief of the Persian forces during the First and Second Russo-Persian Wars. By the terms of the Treaty of Turkmanchay, he succeeded in making his line the heirs to the throne of Persia. His son, Moḥammad, became shah after the death of Fath ‘Alī Shah in 1834.

‘Abdul Pasha. Pasha of Kars. He succeeded Mehmet Pasha, who died in 1807.

Abov, Melik. A member of the Beglarian clan, hereditary rulers of the Gulistan district in Karabagh. Abov was the son of Melik Hovsēp‘ (Yūsef), brother of Melik Beglar. His Russian orientation was responsible for his losing his domain and gaining the enmity of Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi, Khan of Karabagh. He and his followers left Karabagh and settled in Georgia. During the First Russo-Persian War (1804-1813), he joined the Russian army and participated in a number of battles.

Abraham of Tat‘ew. Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (1813-1815) and a supporter of Catholicos Dawit‘.

Abraham, Aghamalean. Melik of the Armenians in the city of Erevan from the 1780s to 1804. He appealed to Catherine the Great to help the Armenians of Erevan. He left Erevan with the army of Tsitsianov, be-

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<sup>1</sup> Dates following rulers, catholicos, or patriarchs signify reign/time in office.

came a Russian subject, and was enrolled in the ranks of the Russian nobility. He returned to Erevan following the Treaty of Gulistan and died there in the 1820s.

Adam (Hātām), Melik. Melik of the district of Jraberd, in Karabagh. He was a member of the Haykazean-Israyēlean clan.

Āgā Moḥammad Khan (1780-1797). Founder of the Qajar dynasty of Persia. He invaded Transcaucasia and sacked Tiflis in 1795. He took the title of Shah in 1796. Castrated in his youth he named his nephew Bābā Khan (Fath ‘Alī Shah) as his heir. He was murdered in Shushi, Karabagh, by his servants.

Agaekov, Gevork. Armenian merchant from the Crimea employed by the Russian embassy at Constantinople. He was a supporter of Catholicos Dawit’.

Aghamalean (Aqamal/Aghamaleants’). Meliks of Erevan, see Meliks Abraham and Sahak.

Akhverdov, Major General Fedor Isaevich (1773-1820). Civil Governor of Georgia from 1807 to 1811.

Ahmad Khan of Marāḡe. Governor of Erevan, 1806-1807.

Alamdarean, Harut’iwn. Armenian activist and cleric, who led Armenian volunteers during the Second Russo-Persian War.

Alaverdi (Allahverdi), Melik. Son of Mirzakhan and melik of the district of Khachen, in Karabagh. He was a member of the Hasan Jalalean clan.

Alaverdov (Alaverdean)Yüzbaşı. Armenian official in the district of Jraberd in Karabagh.

Alexander, Prince. See Batonishvili, Alexander.



'Alī-qolī Khan. Brother of Āḡā Moḥammad Khan and governor of Erivan, 1796-1797.

Amburger, Andrei Karlovich (d. 1830). Diplomat at the Russian mission in Persia. He served as consul general in Tabriz from 1828.

Anton II, Erekles-dze Batonishvili. Last catholicos of Georgia (1788-1811).

Anton Vardapet. Envoy of Catholicos Daniēl to Archbishop Ep'rem, the Armenian prelate in Russia. He settled in Astrakhan and helped Nikoghos Aghbabeian to start a school in Astrakhan. In 1806, he was forced to leave Astrakhan on charges of spreading dissent.

Aqa Begum: Daughter of Tūṭī Kanūm (sister of Jāvād Khan of Ganja) and Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh. She became one of the wives of Fath Alī Shah.

Arakcheev, General Aleksei Andreevich (1769-1834). Russian minister of war (1808-1810) and member of the State Council on Military Affairs (1810-1817). He was in charge of military settlements after 1817. Arakcheev was a very influential courtier who was hated by his contemporaries. He advocated a policy of extreme reaction, police despotism, and severe military discipline, which became known as the *Arakcheevshchina*.

Argutinskii, Hovsēp' (Iosif). Scion of the famed Russian noble family, Argutinskii-Dolgorukov. He was born in 1743 and named prelate of the Armenians in Russia in 1773. Hovsēp' was responsible for the founding of the Armenian city of Grigoriopol' in the Kherson province (presently in the Republic of Moldova). He was an ardent supporter of Russian expansion into Transcaucasia and an exponent of a Russian orientation among his people. He was elected catholicos in 1800 but died in 1801 in Tiflis on his way to Etchmiadzin.

Argutinskii-Dolgorukov, Prince and Lieutenant General Moses Zakharovich (1797-1855). Participated in the Second Russo-Persian War

and played a major part in the immigration of Persian Armenians to the Armenian province. He was governor of the Armenian province from 1829 to 1830, after which he participated in the campaign against Shamil.

Argutinskii, Prince Solomon. Nephew of Archbishop Hovsēp' and governor of the district of Lori. He supported the election of Catholicos Dawit'.

Argutinskii, Prince Vasilii (Barsegh Argutov). Nephew of Hovsēp' who resided in Grigoriopol'. He supported Catholicos Dawit'.

Astuatsatur Archbishop. Prelate of the Armenians in Georgia (1813-1814).

Astuatsatur Melik. Melik of the district of Khachen, in Karabagh. He was a member of the Hasan Jalalean clan.

Avalov (Avalishvili), G. Member of the Georgian nobility and one of the envoys sent by Giorgi XII to Russia.

Avanean. Meliks of the Dizak district in Karabagh.

Bābā Khan. See Fath 'Alī Shah.

Bahram, Melik. Son of Melik Jamshid of Varanda. He was a member of the Shahnazarean clan.

Bariatinskii, Prince and General Field Marshal Alexander Ivanovich (1815-1879). A companion of Tsar Alexander II, Bariatinskii took part in the Caucasian campaigns and was chief of staff of the Caucasian Corps during the Crimean War. He was viceroy for the Caucasus (1856-1862). He broke Shamil's resistance and took him prisoner in 1859. He was a member of the State Council after he left the Caucasus.

Barsegh Archbishop. A supporter of Daniël at Etchmiadzin. He aided the Russians during the siege of Erevan in 1808. He served as *locum tenens* of Etchmiadzin after the death of Daniël in 1808 until the arrival of Catholicos Ep'rem.

Batonishvili. Title of the Georgian Bagratid princes Alexander, Anton, Bagrat, David, Giorgi, Ioane, P'arnavaz, T'eimuraz, Wakhtang, and Yulon. Except for Alexander, all were forcibly deported to or voluntarily settled in Russia.

Batonishvili, Prince Alexander (1780-1844). Son of Erekle II. Never reconciled to the Russian annexation of his land, Alexander fled to Persia in 1800 and fought the Russians for many years. He married the daughter of Melik Sahak Aghamalean of Erevan. He died in Persia.

Batonishvili, Prince David. Son of King Giorgi XII, heir to the throne and prince regent of eastern Georgia until 1801 when his domain was annexed outright by Russia. He was sent to Russia under military escort by Tsitsianov in 1803.

Batonishvili, Prince T'eimuraz. Son of Giorgi XII, moved to Persia after Russia annexed Georgia, but returned in 1810 and settled in Russia.

Bebutov, Prince Iosif. A Georgian noble of Armenian heritage in the service of the Georgian King. He was the governor of Tiflis prior to and immediately after the Russian annexation of eastern Georgia. He was the father of V. O. Bebutov.

Bebutov, Prince and General Vasilii Osipovich (1781-1858). Georgian Armenian nobleman, son of Iosif. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 and the Napoleonic campaign of 1812. He served as adjutant to General Tormasov and General Ermolov, and accompanied Ermolov to Persia in 1817. In 1821, he was appointed as commander of the Mingrelia Jäger Corps and commandant of Imeret'i. He participated in the taking of the fortress of Akhaltsikhe in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. Bebutov was the governor of the

Armenian province from 1830 to 1838. He commanded Russian troops in the war against Shamil 1844-1847, and was chief of the civilian government of Transcaucasia from 1847 to 1853. He participated in the Crimean War and resumed the position of chief of the civilian government of Transcaucasia after 1854.

Beglar Melik. Armenian melik of Gulistan, in Karabagh. He was a member of the Beglarian clan.

Beglarian. Princely family of Gulistan, see Meliks Abov, Beglar, Firoydun, and Sam.

Beglarian, Firoydun. Melik of Gulistan, in Karabagh. His Russian orientation forced him to leave Karabagh with some of his followers. He settled in Georgia and in 1799 visited St. Petersburg to petition Tsar Paul. He was enrolled in the ranks of Russian nobility and was given a pension.

Benkendorf, General Konstantin Khristaforovich II (1785-1828). Prior to 1812, he served as a diplomat in Naples and Berlin. He participated in the wars of 1812 and was envoy to Württemberg and Baden (1820-1826). He returned to military life during the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828 and took part in the siege of Erevan in 1827. He took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 in the Balkans where he died.

Benkendorf, General and Count Alexander Khristaforovich (1781-1844). He participated in the wars with France and Turkey (1805-1807, 1806-1812) and the War of 1812-1814. He was chief of staff of a guards corps (1819-1821) and commanded a cavalry unit during the suppression of the Decembrists. He was a member of the commission that dealt with the Decembrists and was instrumental in formulating the project which created the ministry of police and the infamous Third Section. From 1826 until his death he served as the chief gendarme and head of the Third Section. Tsar Nicholas instructed him to personally supervise the persecution of Alexander Pushkin.

(1780-1792). He obtained Turkey's recognition of the annexation of the Crimea and signed the Peace of Jassy, as well as the convention for the third partition of Poland. Bezborodko served Paul as his main foreign policy advisor until his [Bezborodko's] death.

Bludov, Dmitrii Nikolaevich (1785-1864). Counselor and member of the commission which investigated the Decembrists. He was assistant minister of public education from 1826 to 1828 and was in charge of the Ministry of Justice 1830-1831 and 1838-1839. From 1832 to 1838 he served as minister of internal affairs, and from 1839 to 1862 he served as one of the chiefs of the Imperial Chancellery. President of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1855-1864) and chairman of the State Council (1862-1864), he was responsible for two editions of the Russian codex of laws (1842 and 1857).

Budberg, Andrei Iakovlevich (1750-1812). Diplomat in the service of Catherine the Great, he was envoy to Stockholm (1796-1803), and was appointed minister of foreign affairs in 1806. He accompanied Tsar Alexander I to Tilsit, but was against the Treaty of Tilsit and resigned in 1807.

Budagh Sultan of Artik. The ruler of Shuragol who decided to accept Russian suzerainty in 1805.

Burnashov, S. D. Colonel. Commander of the Russian troops in Tiflis following the Treaty of Georgievsk.

Chavchavadze, Prince Garsevan. Member of the Georgian noble house and envoy to Russia.

Chernyshev, General, Count, and Grand Duke Alexander Ivanovich (1786-1857). He took part in the campaign against Napoleon in 1805-1807. From 1808 to 1812 he served as a diplomat in France and Sweden, fought in the War of 1812, and became a member of Tsar Alexander's retinue. He participated in the investigation of the Decembrists and was appointed a senator in 1827. He became an official in the war ministry from 1828 to 1832 and minister of war from 1832 to 1852. He was appointed as chairman of the State Council in 1848. A harsh

disciplinarian and an advocate of obsolete tactics, he was blamed by some for the Russian defeat in the Crimean War.

Czartoryski, Prince Adam Jerzy (1770-1861). Polish nobleman in the service of Russia. He was a member of the Privy Council and a close friend of Tsar Alexander I. He served as the minister of foreign affairs from 1804 to 1806, but opposed the conflict with France and resigned in 1806. In 1816 he became senator in the kingdom of Poland and acted as the head of the national government during the Polish uprising of 1830-1831. He emigrated to Paris where he attracted Polish nationalists who proclaimed him king of Poland in 1834. Until his death, he sought to restore the independence of Poland and relied on the support of the West.

Daniël of Surmaṛi. Catholicos at Etchmiadzin from 1807 to 1808. He was patriarch of Constantinople from 1800 to 1801, and was elected catholicos in 1801, but was kidnapped by his rival Dawit' in 1802 and imprisoned in Etchmiadzin, Erevan, and Persia for five years. In 1807, in an effort to improve relations with Russia, the Persian leadership ordered Daniël released from confinement in Marāḡe and he assumed the throne of the catholicos. He died in the fortress of Erevan in late 1808 during the siege of Erevan by General Gudovich.

Darejan. Queen of Georgia. Wife of Erekle II, she resisted Russian control of her land until her exile to Russia in 1803.

Dashkov, Dmitrii Vasil'evich (1789-1839). Russian minister of justice (1829-1839), he helped to create the first code of laws of the Russian Empire. He was also responsible for conducting an inventory of the Moscow archives.

Davydov, Lieutenant General Denis Vasil'evich (1784-1839). Hero of the War of 1812 as a partisan leader at the rear of Napoleon's army. He was also known as an author and a poet. He fought the French (1806-1807), Sweden (1805-1809) and Turkey (1809-1812), and served as adjutant to the famous General Bagration. He was close to a number of Decembrists and served in the Caucasus from 1828-1829,

where he wrote an interesting diary. He took part in the repression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831 and retired in 1832.

Dawit' V of Enēgēt'. Catholicos at Etchmiadzin from 1801 to 1807. Although Dawit', with Russian backing, was elected as Catholicos in 1801 and received the approval of the Ottomans, the uproar from the Armenian communities changed the position of Russia, which in turn pressured the Ottomans, and nullified his election in favor of the popular patriarch of Constantinople Daniēl of Surmaṛi. Dawit', with the help of some Armenian religious and secular leaders in Transcaucasia and Russia, as well as Moḥammad Khan of Erevan, remained on the throne, kidnapped Daniel in 1802, and kept him under arrest, with Persian approval and assistance, for five years. The crisis divided the Church hierarchy, damaged the prestige of the Church, and gave Tsitsianov the excuse to attack Erevan in 1804. Forced by the Persians to step down in 1807, he is sometimes referred to as pseudo-catholicos Dawit'.

Diebitsch (Dibich-Zabalkanskii), Count and Field Marshal Ivan Ivanovich [Johann Karl Friedrich Anton] (1785-1831). Son of a Prussian officer who came to Russia in 1796, he fought the French in 1805-1807 and 1812. In 1823 he was made the chief quartermaster of the Russian armies. He informed Nicholas I of the Decembrist uprising and was put in charge of their arrest. He acted as commander in chief of the army during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 as well as during the crushing of the 1830-1831 Polish rebellion.

Dondukov-Karsakov, General Alexander Mikhaelovich (1820-1893). Took part in the Crimean War and in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. He was named governor-general of Kiev, Volyn' and Podolsk provinces, and served as supreme Russian commissar in Bulgaria (1878-1879). He was named high commissioner and commander of the army of the Caucasus (1882-1890) and member of the State Council after 1890.

Ebrāhīm Ḳalīl Khan (ca. early 1720s-1806). Son of Panāh Khan of the Jāvānšīr clan and ruler of most of Karabagh from ca. 1762 to 1806. He

managed to kill, exile, or subdue most of the meliks of Karabagh and placed his own candidate as catholicos of Aghuank'. On 15 May, 1805 he signed a treaty which placed his domain under Russian protection. Suspected of betrayal, he was killed by the Russians in 1806.

Eḥsān Khan. Son of Kalb 'Alī Khan of Nakhichevan and governor of Ordubad from 1822. He was given the rank of major general in the Russian army.

Ep'rem of Dzoragegh (1809-1830). Catholicos of All Armenians. He was appointed prelate of the Armenians in Russia following the election of Hovsēp'. Elected catholicos in 1809, he could not manage the politics of Etchmiadzin or its large debts and left the See in 1822, seeking refuge first in Karabagh and then in the monastery of Haghpat. Although he abdicated, his seat was not filled and he technically remained the catholicos. His flight left the See without a catholicos for six years. He returned to Etchmiadzin in 1828 but soon after (1830) resigned because of poor health and died in 1835.

Erekle II (1744-1798). King of Kakhet'i (1744-1762), King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i (eastern Georgia) from 1762 to 1798. Erekle had good relations with the Afshar and Zand rulers of Persia. He led a Georgian contingent in the campaign of Nāder Shah in India and surrendered the enemy of Karīm Khan, Āzād Khan, to the Zand ruler. He forced the khans of Erevan and Ganja to submit to him by making a pact with Ebrāhīm Khan of Shushi. He also took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 on the side of Russia. Surrounded by Muslims, and subjected to raids by the mountaineers of the Caucasus, Erekle agreed to the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) which placed his kingdom under the protection of Russia.

Ermolov, General Aleksei Petrovich (1777-1861). Joined the army in 1791 and participated in the Polish and Persian wars (1794 and 1796). Ermolov took part in the Napoleonic wars of 1805-1807 and 1812 as an artillery commander and chief of staff. He was appointed commander in chief of Georgia in 1816 and the entire Caucasus in 1819. He was the envoy to Persia in 1817, and initiated the conquest of



Northern Caucasus. His methods clashed with those of Arakcheev. He was admired by the Decembrists and was responsible for their resettlement in the Caucasus (1825-1826). His independent views became suspect and he was replaced by Tsar Nicholas I in 1827 and retired from the army. In 1830 he became member of the State Council and served as the chief of the state militia of Moscow during the Crimean War.

Ermolov II, Peter Nikolaevich. Colonel and cousin of General Ermolov, he and Mogilevskii conducted the first survey of Karabagh in 1823.

Eristov, Prince and Lieutenant General Georgii Evseevich. Commander of the Caucasian Reserve Grenadiers in Kakhet'i, he took Tabriz in October of 1827.

Esayi Hasan Jalalean, Catholicos of Aghuank' (1702-1728). One of the leaders of the Armenian resistance movement in Karabagh during the 1720s. He was the author of a short history of Karabagh (*Patmut' iwn hamarod Aghuanits' erkri*).

Fath 'Alī Shah (1797-1834). Nephew and heir of Āgā Moḥammad Khan. Known as Bābā Khan, he assumed the title of Fath 'Alī upon ascending the Persian throne in 1797.

Fezi (Faesy), General Karl Karlovich. A Swiss by birth, Fezi entered Russian service in November 1816. He served in the Caucasus under Rosen and, as commander of the 20th Infantry Division, fought Shamil in 1837.

Frederiks, Baron and Major General Boris Andreevich. Participated in the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828 and Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. He took part in the taking of Sardarābād, Erevan, Kars, and Akhaltsikhe and was commander of the Tiflis infantry unit from 1827.

Gardane, General Claude M. (1766-1818). French General and Napoleon's envoy to Persia (1807-1809) following the Treaty of Finkenstein. Gardane's son and brother, who accompanied him to Persia, recorded their experiences.

Gabriël Yüzbaşı. Chief of the Armenians of the Kırk-Bulagh *maḥal* in the khanate of Erevan from 1780s to 1804. A member of the Geghamean (Gegamov) family, he appealed to Catherine the Great to aid the Armenians of Erevan. He left Erevan with the army of Tsitsianov, became a Russian subject and was enrolled in the ranks of the Russian nobility

Gentsaurov, Isaac. A state counselor who was sent by Knorring to Erevan to inquire about the fate of Catholicos Daniël.

Ghukas of Karin. Catholicos at Etchmiadzin from 1780 to 1799. He petitioned Catherine the Great and Paul for Russian protection, but managed to maintain good relations with the Persians and Turks.

Giers (Girs), Nikolai Karlovich (1820-1895). Giers worked in the Asiatic department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was envoy to Persia in 1863, Switzerland in 1869, and Sweden in 1872. He was in charge of the Asiatic department and deputy minister of foreign affairs after 1875. Following the illness of Chancellor A. M. Gorchakov, Giers ran the foreign ministry. As foreign minister from 1882 to 1895, he tried to maintain the Alliance of the Three Emperors.

Giorgi XII. Last King of K'art'li-Kakhet'i (eastern Georgia). The son of Erekle II, he reigned from 1798 to 1800. Surrounded by internal and external enemies, Giorgi appealed to Paul to annex his domain to Russia but to maintain the ruling house and the customs of Georgia. He is sometimes referred to as Giorgi XIII, due to the fact that Giorgi XI had ruled twice.

Giwmushkhanetsi, Vardapet Manuel (Altunean). Supporter of Catholicos Dawit', assistant to the prelate of the Armenians in Grigoriopol'

and the Crimea, and founder of an Armenian school in that region. He wrote a number of literary and historical works and retired at the monastery in Lake Sevan.

Glazenap, General Gregory Ivanovich (1751-1819). Served as a commander at the Caucasian Line (1804-1806), and, from 1807-1815, as a commander at the Siberian Line.

Golitsyn, Prince Alexander Nikolaevich (1773-1844). A friend of Tsar Alexander, he was appointed as chief procurator of the Holy Synod (1803). A member of the State Council (1810), minister of public education (1816), and minister of religious affairs (1817). Golitsyn was attracted to mysticism and became the director of the Russian Bible Society in 1813. He retired in 1824 as a result of intrigues by Arakcheev.

Golovin', General Evgenii Aleksandrovich. Administrator in chief of the Caucasus (1837-1842). He established a number of fortifications in the northwestern Caucasus and resumed the struggle against Shamil.

Gorchakov, Prince and General Aleksei Ivanovich (1769-1817). Nephew of Suvorov, he took part in the Turkish campaign of 1787-1791 and the war in Poland (1792-1794). He became minister of war from 1812 to 1816 when he retired in disgrace following charges of embezzlement.

Griboedov, Alexander Sergeevich (1795-1829). Russian author, playwright and diplomat. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1817 and was secretary of the Russian mission in Persia 1818-1821. He was later named chief of the Georgian chancery in 1826 and participated in the Turkmanchay negotiations. A defender of Georgian and Armenian rights, he married a Georgian princess (Chavchavadze). As envoy extraordinary to Persia (1828), he was killed, with some members of the Russian mission, by a mob in Tehran on 30 January 1829, when he sought to liberate some Christian women from Muslim harems. Russia, in the midst of a war with Turkey, did not wish to start a new conflict with Persia, especially since England did not favor the idea. Prince Kosrow Mirzā was sent to St. Petersburg with official

regrets. Griboedov's corpse was brought to Transcaucasia and buried in Tiflis.

Grigor IV. Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (1801-1802).

Gudovich, General Field Marshal Ivan Vasil'evich (1741-1820). Gudovich took part in the Russo-Turkish wars of the second half of the 18th century. He was appointed commander of the Caucasian Line in 1791. Catherine the Great replaced him with General Zubov in 1796. He was reinstated by Tsar Paul in 1797 and replaced by Knorring in 1799. Following the death of Tsitsianov, Gudovich was, in 1806, named administrator in chief of the Caucasus in 1806. He was in charge of the attack on Erevan in 1808. Gudovich was replaced by General Tormasov in 1809. He became a state counselor and retired in 1812.

Guliakov, Major General. Commander of a brigade in Transcaucasia, he served under Tsitsianov, who sent him to conquer Jaro-Belakan in 1803.

Gur'ev, Count Dmitrii Alexandrovich (1751-1825). Russian statesman and member of the Ministry of Finance in 1802. He served as minister of finance from 1810 to 1823.

Hahn (Gan), Baron Paul Vasil'evich. Scion of an old Courland family, Hahn served as the Russian envoy to Italy and became a senator in 1837. He was appointed to devise a new administration in the Caucasus and arrived in Tiflis in 1837. He had no knowledge of the region but managed to convince Tsar Nicholas to replace Baron Rosen and implement centralist reforms. The ultimate failure of his administrative changes forced the tsar to appoint Vorontsov as the first viceroy of the Caucasus.

Hakobos. Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (1839-1840 and 1848-1856)

Hasan Jalalean (Jalaleants'). Princely family of Karabagh whose members served as the catholicoi at Gandzasar, see Esayi, Hovhannēs, and Sargis.

Hasan Khan. Brother of Hōseyn-qolī Khan and commander of the army of Erevan (1807-1827). Anti-Armenian and extremely anti-Russian, he was punished by the terms of the Turkmanchay treaty by losing all his property in Erevan.

Hasan Khan of Mākū. Khan of Erevan in 1797.

Hōseyn 'Alī Khan. Khan of Erevan from 1762 to 1783.

Hōseyn-qolī Khan. Khan of Baku, responsible for the death of Tsitsianov. Fear of Russian reprisal forced him to flee to Persia.

Hōseyn-qolī Khan Qajar. Last khan and sardar of Erevan (1807-1827). He tried, and succeeded to a degree, to keep the Armenians of the khanate loyal to Persia. A capable administrator, his stubborn resistance earned him the wrath of Russia. He was punished in the Turkmanchay treaty by losing all the property he held in Erevan. He died in Persia in 1830.

Hovhannēs of Karnak. Archbishop and prelate of Armenians in Russia from 1811-1827.

Hovhannēs. Archbishop and prelate of the Armenians in Georgia. He took part in the Russian invasions of Erevan in 1804 and 1808. Appointed as the head of the Armenians of Elisavetpol', he was also named deputy of Etchmiadzin by Catholicos Daniēl in 1804.

Hovhannēs of Karbi. Catholicos at Etchmiadzin (1831-1842). He served as prelate of the Armenians in Georgia at the end of the 1820s. A major supporter of the involvement of Russia in the affairs of the Armenian Church, he agreed to the *Polozhenie* of 1836.

Hovhannēs. Archbishop of Kars. An active supporter of Russia, he served as a go-between Tsitsianov and Mehmet Pasha of Kars.

Hovhannēs XI of Baiburt. Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (d. 1817). He was elected as patriarch of Constantinople in 1800, but deposed by the Porte and sent to Evdokia in 1801. He was reinstated in 1802 and served as patriarch of Constantinople until 1813.

Hovhannēs. Patriarch of Jerusalem (1850-1860).

Hovhannēs XII, Hasan Jalalean. Catholicos of Aghuank' (1763-1788). He sought Russian aid against the Muslims, was arrested in 1786 by Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh and killed in 1788.

Hovsēp' Melik. Father of Melik Abov Beglarian of Gulistan.

Iakimov, Colonel. Commandant of Elisavetpol' in 1817.

Ibrahim, Pasha of Bayazid (d. 1805). Technically under the control of the governor of Erzerum, Ibrahim, who belonged to the Kurdish tribe of Slivanli, maintained an autonomous course.

Italinskii, Andrei Iakovlevich (1743-1827). A member of the Russian Academy, physician and diplomat in Naples, Constantinople, and Rome.

Israyēl of Gandzak. Anti-catholicos of Aghuank' (1763-1765, 1786-1806), he was appointed by Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh but was not accepted by most of the Armenian inhabitants. He was responsible for betraying Catholicos Hovhannēs Hasan Jalalean to Ebrāhīm Khan.

Israyēlean. Armenian princely family of Jraberd, in Karabagh.

Ĵa'far Khan. Anti-Armenian military chief in Erevan in 1820s.

Ĵa'far-qolī Khan. Grandson of Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh and nephew of Mahdī-qolī Khan of Karabagh. He was to succeed as khan

of Karabagh, according to the treaty with Russia, but was bypassed. He never forgave the Russians and in 1811 fled to Persia, where he joined in the struggle against Russian expansion into Transcaucasia. He returned to Karabagh and lived on his estates until his death.

Ĵa'far-qolī Khan Donboli (Domboli). Khan of Ḵoi (1799-1806), later khan of Sheki.

Jamshid. Armenian melik of the district of Varanda in Karabagh. A member of the Shahnazarean family, he was one of the early supporters of Russia. Deprived of his lands and threatened by Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh, he left for Georgia and in 1799 traveled to St. Petersburg to petition Tsar Paul. He and his followers were settled in Lori. Jamshid took an active part in the First Russo-Persian War and was decorated by the Russians with a golden saber for his bravery.

Jaubert, Pierre Amédée. French officer and diplomat who was sent to Turkey and Persia in 1805-1806 to negotiate a Franco-Persian alliance. His travel memoirs are *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*.

Ĵavād Khan. Last khan of Ganja. A member of the Qajar clan, he was held responsible for guiding Āġā Moḥammad Khan to Tiflis. He gave refuge to a number of meliks from Karabagh. He and his son were killed in 1804 during the Russian invasion. Although his wives and other members of his family were given pensions by Russia and kept their estates, most left for Persia soon after.

Kachkachov, Major. Russian envoy to Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh.

Kalb 'Alī Khan Qajar. Khan of Nakhichevan and a relative of Moḥammad Khan of Erevan. He was blinded by Āġā Moḥammad Shah in 1797 and lived in Erevan. In 1809 he and his family were forced to settle in Persia. One of his sons, Sheikh 'Alī Beg, escaped to Karabagh and became a Russian subject; another son, Eḥsān Khan, was appointed the governor of Ordubad by the Russians.

Kankrin, Count Egor Frantsevich (1774-1845). A German who entered Russian service in 1797. He was minister of finance from 1823 to 1844. He cut the state deficit by reducing expenditures and by selling liquor franchises.

Kariagin, Paul Mikhailovich (d. 1807). Colonel in the service of Tsitsianov during the storming of Ganja. He was appointed commandant of Elisavetpol'. In 1805, when surrounded by a large army commanded by 'Abbās Mīrzā in Karabagh, Kariagin held out for three weeks in Askeran and Shah-Bulagh and received a golden sword for his action.

Karīm (Kerim), Khan. Last khan of Nakhichevan.

Khoven (von der Hoven), Major General Roman Ivanovich. Civil governor of Georgia in 1821.

Khudobashev, Alexander Makar'evich. Active state counselor and member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accompanied Ermolov to Persia. He was the author of a two-volume Armeno-Russian dictionary (Moscow, 1838), and the translator of some of the Armenian letters and petitions to Russia.

Knorring, Lieutenant General Karl Fedorovich. Knorring was appointed (March 1799) inspector of the Caucasian Infantry and commander of the Caucasian Line. He played part in the annexation of Georgia (1801) and was named commander in chief. Complaints by the Georgian royal family, during his attempt to curtail their power, caused his removal in late 1802.

Kochnev. One of the commandants of Elisavetpol'.

Kochubei, Victor Pavlovich (1768-1834). Russian diplomat and statesman, served in the Russian missions in Stockholm and London. He was appointed extraordinary envoy to the Ottoman Porte (1792-1797) and member, as well as vice-chancellor, of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs from 1797 to 1802. He was minister of internal affairs from 1802 to 1807 and again from 1819 to 1823.



Koliubakin, Lieutenant Colonel Michael Petrovich (1801-1866). He served in a number of posts in Transcaucasia from 1836 to 1863. Koliubakin administered Erevan and Kutais provinces and was vice-governor of Tiflis.

Kotliarevskii, Lieutenant General Peter Semenovich (1782-1852). He joined the Russian army when he was fourteen years old and participated in the 1796 campaign against Persia. He became an officer at seventeen and rose in the ranks during the Transcaucasian campaigns, especially for his bravery during the battles of Aslanduz and Lenkoran (1812-1813). Badly wounded, he retired from service in 1813.

Kovalenskii, Peter Ivanovich (d. 1827). Russian envoy to the Georgian Court from 1799 to 1801. Governor of Georgia from 1801 to 1802.

Krabbe, Major General Karl Karlovich von. A German who joined Russian service in 1798, he commanded a Russian infantry unit in Daghestan.

Krasovskii, Lieutenant General Afanasii Ivanovich. He participated in the French campaigns of 1805-1807 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812, as well as the War of 1812. In 1826 he was appointed as commander of the 20th infantry division and participated in the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828. He relieved Etchmiadzin following the battle of Oshakan, and participated in the taking of Sardarābād and Erevan. In October 1827 he was appointed as the temporary governor of Erevan and then the governor of the Armenian province, 1828-1830.

Kuchurean, Bishop Step'anos. Envoy of Catholicos Dawit' to Constantinople in 1802, he intended to sway the Armenian leadership there to support Dawit'.

Kurakin, Alexander Borisovich (1752-1818). Prince, senator and extraordinary envoy to Vienna. Appointed vice-chancellor by Tsar Alexander, he later served as ambassador in Vienna and Paris (to 1812).

Lashkarev, Sergei Lazarevich (1739-1814). Russian diplomat who worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who specialized in Armenian affairs. In 1808 he served as a diplomat in Moldavia and Wallachia. From 1808 until 1813 he was the secretary of the Russian embassy in Munich, Bavaria

Lazarev (Lazarean, Ghazarean). Wealthy Armenian merchant family originally from Persia. The Russian branch was founded by A. N. Lazarev, who settled in Astrakhan in 1747. In 1749 he and his family moved to Moscow, where he and his brother Khach'atur started a silk factory and other enterprises. Other members of the family soon left Persia and settled in Russia. The family's wealth and influence not only brought them titles of nobility, but enabled them to advance the cause of the Armenians in Russia and Transcaucasia.

Lazarev, Count Ivan (Hovhannēs) Lazarevich (1735-1801). Born in New Julfa, he was one of the founders of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow. His wealth gave him access to the Russian Court and made him a conduit for Armenian petitions to Catherine and Paul.

Lazarev, Ioakim (Hovakim) Lazarevich (1743-1826). One of the founders of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow in 1815.

Lazarev, Major General Ivan Petrovich (1763-1803). He served as a commander of the Kuban Corps during the Russo-Turkish War of 1788-1790. In 1796, Lazarev was sent to Erekle II to guard the Trans-Terek region against raids by Caucasian mountaineers. In 1799 he was appointed commander of the Russian troops in Tiflis. He was killed by Queen Mariam (Marie) in 1803.

Lazarev, Khach'atur, son of Hovakim.

Lazarev, Colonel Lazar' Ioakimovich. Son of Hovakim, he served on the staff of General Paskevich and was in charge of Armenian immigration from Persia to the Armenian province (1828).

Lazarev, Mina (Minas) Lazarevich (1739-1809). Brother of Hovhannēs (Ivan) and Hovakim (Ioakim), he lived in Moscow and was appointed the *chargé d'affaires* of Etchmiadzin to the Court of Russia.

Liakhov, Lieutenant Colonel. Commander of Russian troops in Shamshadil.

Lisanevich, General Dmitrii Tikhonovich (1780-1825). Participated in the Russian campaign against Persia in 1796 and was promoted by Tsistianov during the First Russo-Persian War. He was appointed commandant of Shushi in 1807. He left in 1812 to take part in the War of 1812. He returned to the Caucasus in 1824 and was killed a year later by a Chechen he had insulted.

Litvinov, Peter Maksimovich. Official in Tsitsianov's administration. He served as governor of Imeret'i and Georgia.

Loris Melikov. Armenian meliks of Lori, related to the Avaneans of Dizak.

Loris Melikov, Count Michael Tarielovich (1825-1888). Studied at the Lazarev Institute, served under Bariatinskii, Bebutov, and Murav'ev. He and other Armenian officers, such as Ter-Gukasov, led the Russian army to victory in Anatolia during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Loris Melikov was appointed the governor-general of Lower Volga, and immediately thereafter became minister of internal affairs. In 1879 he was named governor-general of Astrakhan, Saratov, Samara, and Kharkov. In 1880 he became the chief of the Supreme Administrative Council. He presented a report to Alexander II which advocated reforms. The murder of the tsar and the policies of Alexander III forced his retirement in 1881.

Madatov (Madat'ean-Yuzbashean), Petros. The *yüzbaşı* of Gulistan and uncle of General Madatov. He accompanied Meliks Jamshid and Fıreydun to St. Petersburg.

Madatov, Prince and General Valerian (Rostom) Grigor'evich (1782-1829). Armenian melik from Karabagh in the service of Russia. He participated in the War of 1812 against Napoleon. Later he served in the Caucasus from 1816 as the military commandant of Karabagh, Sheki and Shirvan. He defeated a large Persian army in 1826 in the Battle of Shamkhor. He left the Caucasus following the removal of General Ermolov in 1827 and was killed in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829.

Mahdī-qolī Khan. Khan of Erevan from 1805-1806.

Mahdī-qolī Khan, younger son of Ebrāhīm Khan and last khan of Karabagh (1806-1822). After the murder of his father, he was chosen by the Russians over Ĵa'far-qolī Khan, the heir-designate. He fled to Persia in 1822, after which Karabagh was formally annexed by Russia. He returned from Persia in 1836, received a pension and died in Karabagh in 1845. He is buried in Aghdam.

Malinskii. Governor of Georgia (1812-1816).

Mariam (Marie), Queen of Georgia. Wife of Giorgi XII, she killed Major General Ivan Lazarev and was deported to Russia in 1803, where she spent seven years at a convent.

Markarov, Melik Arutiun. Chief of the Armenians of Kazakh.

Martiros, Archbishop. Representative of Etchmiadzin in Georgia.

Matt'ēos of Constantinople. Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (1844-1848) and catholicos (1858-1865).

Matushevich, Major General. The quartermaster of Transcaucasia in 1805.

Mehmet Pasha (d. 1807). Pasha of Kars who concluded an alliance with Tsitsianov against Moḥammad Khan of Erevan and Şerif Pasha of Akhaltsikhe.

Meiendorf, General Kasimir Ivanovich (1749-1813). Served in Transcaucasia and took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812.

Mejrum (Majnun) Melik. Melik of Jraberd in Karabagh. Member of the Israyēlean family. Persian primary sources claim that he guided the Persian army to Tiflis in 1795.

Menshikov, Prince and General Alexander Sergeevich (1787-1869). Visited Constantinople as the Russian representative at the start of the 19th century. A Russian military and diplomatic figure, he was sent to Persia in 1826 to inform the shah about the ascension of Tsar Nicholas and to save the peace. He refused to make any concessions and failed in his mission. He was later governor of Finland and served as Russian envoy to Turkey in 1853. He was a commander of the Russian army in the Crimean War.

Michael, Prince Nikolaevich Romanov. Brother of Tsar Alexander II and viceroy of the Caucasus from 1863 to 1882.

Minas Vardapet. *Locum tenens* at Etchmiadzin after 1822.

Mīrzā ‘Abdol Ḥasan Khan. He was minister of foreign affairs of Persia and envoy to St. Petersburg in 1816. He signed the Treaty of Turkmanchay for Persia.

Mīrzā Bozorg (‘Īsā Qa’em Maqām). He served as the prime minister of Persia from 1809 to 1822.

Mīrzā Ĵamāl Ĵavānšīr. The vizier of Karabagh and author of a *History of Karabagh*.

Mīrzā Šafi’-e Māzandarāni. The prime minister of Persia from 1801 to 1809.

Mirzakhan Melik. Armenian Melik of Khachen, member of the Hasan Jalalean clan.

Misail, Melik. He was the commandant of Kazakh.

Mogilevskii, Paul Ivanovich. He served as a state counselor and head of chancery in Tiflis during the rule of Ermolov. He and Colonel Ermolov conducted the first survey of Karabagh province in 1823.

Moḥammad Khan. Commander of the body-guard of the shah of Persia and envoy to Georgia in 1798.

Moḥammad Khan of Erevan. Member of the Qajar tribe, Moḥammad Khan was, with minor interruptions, the khan of Erevan from 1784 to 1805. He accepted Erekle's superior military strength and managed to keep most of his territory intact. Not known for his bravery, he was a good politician and negotiated with Russia, Turkey, Persia, Karabagh, and Georgia to keep himself in power for some two decades. His procrastination in supporting the shah and 'Abbās Mīrzā during the invasion of Erevan by Tsitsianov (1804) ended with his removal and exile into the interior of Persia.

Moḥammad Ṭaher Khan. Persian official in charge of Armenian emigration to Russia in 1828-1829.

Montresor, Major. Commander of the Tiflis infantry, he was killed in August 1804 defending Kara-Kilisa against a large Persian force.

Mortazā-qolī Khan. Half brother of Āḡā Moḥammad Khan, who, in 1784, sought refuge in Russia.

Moṣṭafā Khan. Khan of Shirvan who joined Russia in 1806. He fled to Persia in 1820 and his khanate was annexed by Russia. Returned to Russia and died in Elisavetpol' in 1835.

Moṣṭafā Khan. Khan of Talesh.

Murav'ev, General Nicholas Nikolaevich (1794-1866). Served in the 1812 war and took part in the embassy of Ermolov to Persia. He took part in the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829, and was present in the taking of Kars, Akhaltsikhe, and Baiburt. He was administrator in chief of the Caucasus during the Crimean War (1854-1856).

Musin-Pushkin, Apollo Apollosovich (1760-1805). Russian scientist and honorary member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. He was commissioned to explore the mineral wealth of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia. From 1799 to 1805, he headed the department of mines of Transcaucasia.

Nazareants', Professor. Professor at the Lazarev Institute in Moscow.

Nebol'sin, Peter Fedorovich. Took part in the Persian campaign of 1796 and rose through the ranks until he was promoted to major general in 1804. He was one of the Russian commanders during the First Russo-Persian War in Karabagh. He died in 1820.

Neidgardt, Alexander Ivanovich. General of infantry and administrator in chief of the Caucasus (1842-1844).

Nelidov, Gregory Ivanovich, Colonel. Russian officer in Transcaucasia during the campaign of 1796.

Nersēs of Ashtarak, Catholiocs (1843-1857). A Supporter of Daniël, he was appointed archbishop of the Armenians in Georgia. He founded Nersessian Academy in Tiflis in 1824, and was an active proponent of Russian rule in Transcaucasia and of Armenian autonomy under the direction of the Church. He organized Armenian militia units during the Second Russo-Persian War. Nersēs took part in the defense of Etchmiadzin and was responsible for the immigration of Persian Armenians into the newly-established Armenian province. His activities drew the suspicion of Russian officials and, in the guise of a promotion, he was sent to Bessarabia in 1829 as the Prelate of that

community. After assuming the position of Catholicos (1843), he resisted the conditions of the *Polozhenie*.

Nersēs of Aghuank' (d. 1736). Anti-catholicos of Karabagh during the time of Panāh Khan. A contemporary of Catholicos Esayi Hasan Jalalean, he resided at the monastery of Erek Mankants' (Three Youth).

Nessel'rode, Count Karl Vasil'evich (1780-1862). Russian statesman and diplomat. He was in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1816-1822 and was minister of foreign affairs from 1822 until 1856, during which time he also served as vice-chancellor and chancellor.

Nesvetaev, Major General Peter Danilovich (d. 1808). Served in Persian and Turkish campaigns during the reign of Catherine the Great. He was commander of the Saratov Infantry Unit in the Caucasus in 1804. In 1805 he occupied Etchmiadzin and the district of Shuragol was annexed to Georgia due to his efforts. He fought in the battles around Gumri and Arpachay, and temporarily commanded the Russian forces in Transcaucasia following the death of Tsitsianov.

'Omar Khan. Khan of Avaria. Brother-in-law of Ebrāhīm Khan. He was defeated by Lazarev in 1803 and died from his wounds shortly after.

Orbelianov (Orbeliani), Prince Georgii. The *mourav* of Pambak

Orbelianov, Major General and Prince Ivan Davidovich. Orbelianov participated in the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813. He was appointed commander of the Russian army and governor of Imeret'i and Mingrelia in 1809.

Orbeliani (Orbelianov), Prince Tamaz. Chamberlain of the last Georgian king, he was sent by Tsitsianov to Erevan to inquire about Catholicos Daniēl.



Orlov Aleksei Fedorovich (1786-1861). General of the cavalry who took part in the campaigns against Napoleon (1805-1814). He participated in the suppression of the Decembrists and received the title of count. He served as a member of the State Council from 1846 to 1844; chief of the gendarmes and head of the Third Department from 1844 to 1856. He headed the Russian delegation at the negotiations in Adrianople (1829), Unkiar Skelesi (1833), and Paris (1856).

Orolov, Nicholas Alekseevich. Son of Aleksei Orlov, he took part in the Crimean War. He served as the Russian envoy to Italy and Austria-Hungary from 1859 to 1869, and as Russian envoy to Britain and France from 1870 to 1871. He became a member of the reform group around Tsar Alexander II.

Osten-Saken I, Major General. Governor of Nakhichevan in 1827 and temporary governor of Azerbaijan in 1828.

Panāh Khan Jāvānšīr. Khan of Karabagh (ca. 1748-1762).

Panin, Victor Nikitich (1801-1879). Joined the diplomatic corps in 1819. A reactionary who was appointed assistant minister of justice (1832-1839). He was minister of justice from 1841 to 1862, and chief administrator of the Imperial Chancellery 1864-1871.

Pankrat'ev, Lieutenant General Nikita Petrovich (1788-1836). Took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 and the war of 1812 and its aftermath. In 1827 he became commander of the 2nd brigade of the 20th division in the war with Persia. In 1828, he became the commander of the 20th division, took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 and occupied Bayazid. He was named governor of the Erzerum province until the Russian evacuation. In 1831 he was made commander of the army of Transcaucasia.

Parrot, Johann (1791-1841). Physiologist, physicist and professor of Dorpat University. Mentor of Khach'atur Abovean. In 1811 he went to the Caucasus and the Crimea to study its *flora*. In 1829 he undertook the ascent of Ararat. He met Abovean and ascended Mt. Ararat with him as well. He encouraged Abovean to attend Dorpat University

(1830-1835). Parrot was named the dean of the university from 1831 to 1833. He published a work on Ararat in Berlin.

Paskevich, Count of Erevan, Prince of Warsaw, Field Marshal Ivan Fedorovich (1782-1856). Participated in the Russo-Persian War of 1806-1812 and the War of 1812. Appointed in March 1827 by Tsar Nicholas as administrator in chief of the Caucasus, he fought both the Persians and the Turks, defeated them, and forced them to sign the treaties of Turkmanchay and Adrianople. In 1831 he crushed the rebellion in Poland. He was named viceregent of Poland from 1832 to 1852 and was in charge of the Russian troops in the Hungarian revolt of 1849. Beginning in 1854 he commanded the Russian army on the southern front of the Crimea. He was wounded and retired in 1854.

Patkanean, Gabriël (1802-1889). Father of Rafayël Patkanean (Gamar-Katipa, 1830-1892) and teacher of the Armenian political activist Mikayel Nalbandean (1829-1866). He published the newspaper *Ararat* (1849-1851) in Tiflis, the first newspaper in the Russian Empire printed in vernacular Armenian.

Paulucci, Marquis and General Philipp, Osipovich (1779-1849). An Italian who entered the service of Russia in 1807. He actively participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812. In 1810 he was appointed as chief quartermaster of the Caucasian Line. From 1811-1812 he was administrator in chief of Georgia and the Caucasus. He fought against Napoleon in the 1812 campaign and left for Italy in 1829.

Perovskii, Count Lev Alekseevich (1792-1856). Illegitimate son of Count A. K. Razumovskii, Perovskii rose to the rank of general in the War of 1812. An early member of the Decembrist circle, he left the movement in 1821. He worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 1841 to 1852 and headed the Ministry of Appanages from 1852 to 1856.

Petros Yüzbaşı. Armenian nobleman from Varanda, a member of the Madatov family.

Pir-qoli Khan. Temporary governor of Erevan in 1805 (according to some sources).

Plaksin. Procurator of Georgia in 1807.

Pleshkov. Lieutenant Colonel stationed in the court of Esma'il Khan of Sheki.

Pōghos, Melik. Son of Melik Jamshid.

Ponomarev, Major Maxim Ivanovich. A commandant of Elisavetpol'.

Portniagin, General Semen Andreevich (1764-1827). He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1791. From 1803 Portniagin served in the Caucasus and participated in all of the major battles during the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813 and Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812. Relieved from the army for a short time, he was reinstated by Ermolov as one of the generals in charge of defense.

Potemkin, Prince Gregory Aleksandrovich (1739-1791). Military figure (field marshal) and statesman. A favorite of Catherine the Great, he took part in the campaigns against the Turks in 1787-1792. He was involved in the annexation of the Crimea. Among his titles were Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Prince of Tauride.

Rebinder Alexander, Major. A commandant of Kara-Kilisa.

Reutt', Colonel Iosif Antonovich (1786-1855). He took part in the campaign against the Lesghians in 1801. Reutt' was present in the siege of Erevan and the battle of Etchmiadzin in 1804 and the campaigns in Shirvan and Baku in 1805-1806. He was commander of the 42nd Jäger Corps in Shushi which repulsed 'Abbās Mīrzā from that town in 1826. He crossed into Persia in 1828 and participated in the taking of Kars in 1829. He stayed in the Caucasus as an administrator and died in Tiflis.

Richelieu, Armand E. S. de-Plessy (1766-1822). French statesman who emigrated to Russia after the French Revolution. He served the Russian state for more than twenty years, notably as governor of Odessa (1803) and governor of the Novorossiisk region (1805). He returned to France in 1814.

Rimskii-Korsakov, A. M. Russian general who took part in the Russo-Turkish wars of the late 18th century.

Romanov, Prince Michael Nikolaevich. Brother of Tsar Alexander II and viceroy for the Caucasus (1863-1882).

Romieu. French General who was sent to Persia with Jaubert and died in Tehran in October 1805.

Rosen, Baron and General Gregory Vladimirovich (1781-1841). Served in the Caucasus from 1805. He rose in the ranks and in 1831 was appointed as administrator in chief of the Caucasus, a post he held until 1837. His main concerns were socioeconomic reforms and pacifying the mountaineers. He spent his late years in Moscow as a senator.

Rostam Beg. Son of Melik Abov, he participated in the First Russo-Persian War, was captured and beheaded by the Persians in Tabriz in 1805.

Rostom Melik. Melik of Jraberd, in Karabagh, a son of Yüzbaşı Alavedov.

Rostopchin' Count Fedor Vasil'evich (1763-1826). Head of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (1798-1801). He served as commander of Moscow from 1812 to 1814. He was accused by some of starting the fires which burned the city in 1812. He was a member of State Council from 1814 to 1823.

Rtishchev, General Nicholas Fedorovich (1754-1835). Russian military figure and statesman, he participated in the Russo-Turkish wars and was appointed administrator in chief of the Caucasus from 1812 to

1816. He signed the Treaty of Gulistan on Russia's behalf and retired in 1816.

Rumiantsev, Count Nicholas Petrovich (1754-1826). Russian statesman and diplomat, who from 1802 to 1814 held various posts such as minister of commerce, minister of foreign affairs, and chancellor. He retired in 1814.

Sahak, Melik of Erevan (d. 1834). Son of Melik Abraham and a close confidant of Hōseyn-qolī Khan of Erevan. He was the chief of the Armenians of the Erevan khanate and commander the Armenian infantry unit of the region. He joined the Russian effort during the latter part of the Second Russo-Persian War and became part of the ruling group of the Armenian province. His daughter, Marie, was married to Prince Alexander of Georgia. He owned the villages of Elar and Arzakend in Kirk-Bulagh.

Salīm, Khan of Sheki. Appointed as khan of Sheki by Zubov in 1796, he accepted Russian suzerainty and was involved in convincing Moṣṭafā Khan of Shirvan to come to terms with Tsitsianov in 1805. His sister was married to Ebrāhīm Khan of Karabagh and was killed by the Russians in 1806. In October 1806 he abandoned his Russian alliance and was replaced by Ĵa'far Khan of Kōi.

Saltykov, Alexander Nikolaevich (1775-1837). Russian statesman and member of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (1801). In 1804 he was appointed member of the senate, from 1806 to 1810 a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1807 to 1812 in charge of that ministry) From 1810-1817 he was a member of the State Council of Laws. He retired in 1817.

Sam Beg: Nephew of Melik Abov, brother of Melik Fīreydun Beglarean.

Sargis Hasan Jalalean, Catholicos of Aghuank' (1810-1815). Claimed the title of Catholicos of Aghuank' in 1792. In 1799 he fled to Georgia with the Armenian meliks and was appointed as archbishop of Hagh-

pat. In 1806 he returned to Gandzasar and assumed the unofficial title of catholicos. In 1815 after the liquidation of that catholicosate he received the title of metropolitan of Karabagh. During the Second Russo-Persian War he was accused of assisting the Persians but was later cleared of the charges in Tiflis and died in 1828.

Serafim, Archbishop. Prelate of the Armenians in Astrakhan.

Serebriakov, Captain. Police Chief of Tiflis in 1805 and land commissioner in 1807.

Şerif Pasha. The ruler of Akhaltsikhe at the beginning of the 19th century. He acted autonomously and rarely followed the Porte's instructions.

Sevarsamidze, Prince Leontii Iakovlevich (d. 1838). Commander of the Tiflis infantry, he was stationed in Kara-Kilisa as commandant of Pambak. In 1827 he was named major general and commander of the Reserve Grenadiers, and in 1836 was commandant of the Jaro-Belakan province.

Shahnazarean. Armenian noble family of the district of Varanda in Karabagh.

Shakarov, Melik Noni. Melik of Kara-Kilisa.

Shamir, Melik. Melik of Gulistan, in Karabagh.

Shutsov, Ivan, V. A commandant of Shushi.

Simanovich, General Fedor Filippovich (d. 1815). He began his career in 1793 and fought the Lesghians from 1801-1802. He prepared a detailed map of the Caucasus. He also fought in the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813. In 1810 he was appointed governor of Imeret'i, Abkhazia, Mingrelia, and Gori, and later served as the governor of Georgia.

Simēon of Erevan. Catholicos of All Armenians (1763-1780). Author of *Jambr* and founder of the Etchmiadzin printing press.

Sipiagin, Lieutenant General Nicholas Mar'ianovich. He took part in the 1805-1807 campaign against Napoleon and the War of 1812 and its aftermath. In 1826 he was put in charge of the 5th infantry division in Georgia and in 1827 was appointed the military governor of Tiflis. He died in 1828.

Skibinevskii, Michael. Served as the consul general of Russia in Anzali, Persia.

Sokolov, Alexander Egorovich. Russian diplomat in Georgia from 1802 to 1803. From 1804 to 1806 he served under Czartoryski. In October 1806 he was appointed to the general staff of the Russian army in Moldavia.

Stroganov, Count Alexander Grigor'evich. Member of the wealthy and famous Russian merchant family, he served as minister of internal affairs from 1839 to 1841. He was made a member of the State Council in 1849.

Sukhtelen, Count and Lieutenant General Paul Petrovich II (1788-1833). Took part in the campaign against Napoleon in 1805-1807, the war with Sweden in 1808-1809, the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812, and the War of 1812 and its aftermath. In 1826 he was appointed as commander of the Independent Caucasian Corps and participated in the taking of the fortresses of 'Abbāsābād, Sardārābād, and Erevan. He took part in the Russo-Turkish War of 1829-1829 in the Balkans. He was appointed governor-general of Orenburg in 1830.

Suvorov, Alexander Vasil'evich (ca.1729-1800). Russian general and military theorist, son of Vasilii Suvorov (1705-1775). A comrade-in-arms of Peter the Great, he was famous for his campaigns in Italy and against the Ottomans. He was decorated numerous times and received the titles of count, prince, and generalissimo.

Tamara, Vasilii Stepanovich. Privy counselor and Russian ambassador to Constantinople until 1803. Following the Russo-Georgian agreement at Georgievsk (1783), Tamara was sent by Potemkin to Georgia to exchange the ratification of that treaty. He served as the Russian envoy at the court of King Solomon of Imeret'i. During the Dawit'-Daniēl controversy, Tamara supported the former for the throne of catholicos.

Tarasov. State counselor and governor of Georgia in 1804.

Tarkhan, Prince Solomon. Georgian nobleman who was the *mourav* of Shamshadil. The family was also known as Tarkhan-Mouravov.

T'eimuraz II, King of eastern Georgia (1732-1744). Father of Erekle II.

Tormasov, Count and General Alexander Petrovich (1752-1818). Administrator in chief of Caucasus from 1808-1811. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812) and the Napoleonic War of 1812, during which he was named as commander of the Third Army.

Tsitsishvili, Prince Giorgi. *Mourav* of the Pambak region during the reign of King Giorgi XII.

Tsitsianov, Prince and General Paul Dmitrievich (1754-1806). A member of the Russified Georgian noble family Tsitsishvili, he served under Zubov and was retired by Tsar Paul. He was reinstated by Tsar Alexander I and appointed as commander in chief in September 1802. Brave and brash, he managed to make many enemies. He was extremely harsh towards peasants and Muslims. After conquering Ganja, he forced the submission of Karabagh, Sheki, and Shirvan. He attacked Erevan in 1804 but did succeed in taking it. He was treacherously killed on 8 February 1806, outside the walls of Baku.

Tuchkov, General Paul Aleksandrovich (1776-1864). Served under General Tsitsianov and participated in the attack on Erevan in 1804, but did not approve of Tsitsianov's actions. He was severely wounded



in August of 1812 in Smolensk and was taken prisoner by the French. He returned from France to Russia in 1815 and became a state counselor.

Uvarov, Count Sergei Semenovich (1786-1855). Head of the St. Petersburg Educational District (1811-1822). A conservative educator, he was deputy minister of public education (1832-1833), and then minister of public education (1833-1849). He advanced the formula of orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. He laid the foundation of vocational education in Russia and revived the practice of sending students abroad. He was named president of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1818 and remained in that post until 1855.

Vakhtam Melik. Melik of Dizak in Karabagh and member of the Avanean clan.

Vasil'ev, Aleksei Ivanovich (1742-1806). Senator and director of the Medical College during the reign of Catherine the Great. He was appointed as state treasurer by Tsar Paul until 1800. In 1802 Tsar Alexander made him the first minister of finance.

Vasil'ev, Nicholas. Governor-general of Astrakhan

Veidemaier, Ivan Andrevich (1752-1820). Member of the State Council (1810) and minister of foreign affairs (1814-1816).

Vel'iaminov, Lieutenant General Aleksei Aleksandrovich III (1785-1838). Participated in the Napoleonic wars of 1805 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812. He was chief of the Georgian Military Corps in 1816, and, in 1831, he was named the commander of the Russian army on the Caucasian Line.

Vel'iaminov, Lieutenant General, Ivan Aleksandrovich. Close confidant of Ermolov in charge of the civilian government of Georgia.

Vorontsov, Count Alexander Romanovich (1741-1805). Russian diplomat, statesman and member of the Permanent Council established by

Tsar Alexander on 30 March, 1801. As Chancellor of Russia (1802-1804) he kept contact with Armenian leaders.

Vorontsov, General Field Marshall and Viceroy Michael Semenovich (1782-1856). First viceroy for the Caucasus, his father was the Russian envoy to London. He served in the Caucasus under Tsitsianov in 1803, fought the mountaineers, took part in the storming of Ganja, and was present at the siege of Erevan. He took part in the campaign against Napoleon and in 1823 was appointed the governor-general of southern Ukraine. In 1845 Vorontsov was appointed as viceroy of the Caucasus a post he held until 1854.

Vorontsov-Dashkov, Count Ilarion I. A relative of Michael Vorontsov and last viceroy of the Caucasus 1905-1916.

Wakhtang VI. King of K'art'li (1711-1714, 1719-1723), who settled in Russia with many of his nobles.

Willock Henry, Captain. English *chargé d'affaires* in Persia.

Zak'arean, Grigor (d. 1828). Student of Hovsēp' Argutinskii and vardapet of the Bessarabian monastery. Following the death of Hovsēp' Grigor was a staunch supporter of Catholicos Dawit'. He participated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 and was decorated by Russia. Elevated to the rank of archbishop he became the head of the Armenian archdiocese of Bessarabia.

Zubov, Count Valerian. Russian general in charge of the campaign against Persia in Transcaucasia in 1796. He was replaced by Gudovich in 1797.

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